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THE

LIFE AND MARTYRDOM

OF

THOMAS BEKET,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

FROM THE SERIES OF LIVES AND LEGENDS NOW PROVED TO HAVE BEEN COMPOSED BY

ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER,

EDITED BY

WILLIAM HENRY BLACK,

ONE OF THE ASSISTANT KEEPERS OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE PERCY SOCIETY,

BY T. RICHARDS, 100, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

No. LIX. JULY 1845.

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Drawn from the original and engraved by F.W.Fairholt, F.S.A.

PORTRAIT OF BECKET FROM THE BLACK BOOK OF THE EXCHEQUER

THE EXCHEQUER

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PREFACE.

Of the legends in old English Alexandrine verse, which constitute a complete *Liber Festivalis* in metre, for the whole year, one has already been presented to the members of the Percy Society, by Mr. Wright, in the publication (No. XLVIII) for August 1844; namely that of Saint Brandan. That is distinguished above others by the singularity of its subject-matter: the present is one of those lives of saints, which relate to English history, and is by far the largest in the whole work. Not only does it afford such a view of the life and character of that remarkable prelate Thomas Beket, the far-famed Saint of Canterbury, as was popularly entertained from the time of his death to the Reformation, but it fixes the period of the authorship of these legends, and, above all, enables us to ascertain the name of their author.

Numerous copies of the whole, or of detached portions of this work, are extant in manuscript, and extracts from them have been given by vari-

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ous authors; among whom may be mentioned Ashmole, in whose "Institution of the Order of the Garter"* are given five lines of the Life of Beket, from a valuable MS. in his own collection at Oxford, now marked No. 43. That copy contains no fewer than ninety-five articles, beginning imperfectly with Saint Wolstan, (whose day falls on the 19th of January,) and ending with Saints Oswald, Thomas of Canterbury, and Edward the Confessor: they are all in the order of the calendar except these last, whose days are 5th August, 29th December, and 5th January respectively. Two of them, therefore, are wrongly placed, and Beket's life is, of all the saints or festivals treated of by this author, the latest in the year. In the Harleian MS. 2277, which begins with Benedict Abbat (this copy being defective as far as 21st March),† the life of Beket is the latest which

* 1672, fol. p. 21.

† "Its imperfection at the beginning may have deprived us of the author's name, which after much search I cannot now retrieve; having little reason to believe him to be that John Goldestone mentioned by Pits, p. 407, who is said to have compiled *Sermones de Sanctis*, and to have flourished A.D. 1320, because it does not appear that he was poetically given, or that he wrote in the English tongue; and besides, the handwriting of this MS. seems to be older than that year."—"Although the name of our old English poet may at this time be difficult to find out, yet the thing itself is of

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relates to *saints;* but legends of Judas Iscariot and Pontius Pilatus follow. It is from this latter manuscript that the text of the following pages, as well as that of Saint Brandan's legend, is printed: both manuscripts are of one age, the latter part of the reign of Edward I., having been written (as nearly as can be conjectured) about the year 1300. The Editor has not found opportunity of using any other manuscript, except some parts of the Arundel MS. No. 8, in the Heralds' Office, which is as late as the middle of the fifteenth century, and contains only the legends of Michael the archangel, and Thomas Beket, following a copy of the Brute Chronicle, which terminates with the death of King Henry V.

In his description of the last mentioned manuscript, the Editor first put forth an opinion, in 1829, that these legends "were evidently written in the time of Edward the First, and very probably by the author of the Chronicle called Robert of Gloucester's, the style and metre of which bear a

considerable value, not only upon account of its rarity, (I not remembering to have met with any other exemplar of it), but also for the purity of its language, its age considered, and the correctness of him who wrote it."—(Wanley, *Harleian Catalogue*, II. 637, 639.) There are, however, several MSS. in the Bodleian, especially the Vernon MS., and at Cambridge, beside Harl. 2250 in the British Museum, which last does not contain the life of Beket.

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complete resemblance to these compositions."* In the same year, Sir Frederick Madden avowed the same opinion, in his edition of Havelok the Dane, which passed through the press at the same time as the Editor's work here quoted. Shortly after, the Editor had the opportunity of confirming that opinion, by perusal (among others) of the poem contained in these pages, which affords demonstrative proof of the identity of authorship between the Chronicle of England and the Lives and Legends. When therefore the Ashmolean MSS. passed under his review, for a critical description of their contents, in 1831 and following years, he hesitated not to intitle the before-mentioned manuscript (No. 43), thus:—"Lives of Saints and Legends of the Festivals, in the order of the English calendar, composed in Alexandrine verse by ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER, the author of the antient Metrical History of England."†

A scanty acquaintance with our early language is enough to refute the erroneous opinion of Warton, (who has quoted the first lines of

* "Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts in the Library of the College of Arms, 1829. Not published." (London, 8vo.) p. 14.

† Catalogue of the Ashmolean MSS. by W. H. Black, (Oxford, 1845, 4to.) col. 64-68.

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Beket's Life from a Bodleian MS.)* that this work was written in the time of Richard I.; the notice of the translation of Beket, from his grave to a costly shrine, which took place in 1220, disproves it at once. Moreover, there is the life of one English Saint contained in the series, who was the *seventh successor* of Beket in the see of Canterbury, and died so late as 16th November 1242,—namely Edmund, commonly called of 'Pounteney' or Pontigny, from his burial-place in France.† This Archbishop was canonized in 1246: therefore the work could not have been written till the middle of the thirteenth century, about which time Robert of Gloucester flourished. His Chronicle comes down to the year 1270;‡ and if the last leaf of the Cottonian MS. had been preserved, it would doubtless appear to have terminated with the death of King Henry III, in 1272, or the coronation of Edward I. Unfortunately we know nothing certain about the author, except one autobiographical notice in his Chronicle: for the manuscripts of that work are as destitute of title or colophon, as those of the Legends

* History of English Poetry, (8vo. ed.) I. 19.

† Harl. MS. 2277, f. 155. Ashm. MS. 43, f. 177. See also Hearne's extracts from Mr. Sheldon's MS., in his Glossary to Robert Mannyng, ('Langtoft's Chronicle',) pp. 607-609, and 611.

‡ See p. 570 of the printed copies.

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are. The only authentic manuscript, which is in the Cottonian Collection, Caligula A. XI., has this modern heading, "*Historia Regum Angliæ ad Henricum Tertium, a Roberto Glocestrensi, qui eodem tempore floruit,*" which is not older than Sir Robert Cotton's time; and, whatever evidence might then have existed for that name, certainly none of a direct nature is now known, although the passage alluded to strongly confirms it. The author describes a great darkness which happened on the day of "the murder of Evesham," ("for *battle* it was not," says he); and adds "*for thirty miles thence,* this saw ROBERD, *who first this book made*, and was well sore afeard."* The event happened on the 4th of August, 1265. The distance of Evesham from Gloucester, being about twenty-five miles, well agrees with the supposition, (if it were no more than a supposition,) that this Robert was a man of Gloucester; and the dialect of his work agrees equally well with that of the county.

It has already been shown that the exact similarity of versification, style, phraseology, and dialect, first led the Editor to consider both works to be the production of one and the same author: but the *proof* of this opinion consists in the identity of considerable portions of the Life

* Printed text, p. 560; and Hearne's Preface, p. lxviii.

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of Beket with the text of the Chronicle. The most remarkable of these is the description of the murder, where thirty successive lines are alike in both poems; but neither these nor any other passages, which exactly correspond, can be considered as interpolations, but are evidently as genuine portions of the Chronicle as they are of the Legend. For the better manifestation of the fact, all that portion of the Chronicle, which relates to Beket's life and disputes with the King, his murder and its consequences, and his translation, is given in the Appendix, from the Cottonian MS.,* and such references are made in the notes, from one text to the other, as will enable the reader easily to find the corresponding passages, and to arrive at the inevitable conclusion, that they have both proceeded from one mind and one pen. It might indeed be said that they are inseparably parts of each other, but for the fact that the details of Beket's history are omitted in the great compilation, founded on the basis of Robert of Gloucester's "Englysshe geste in ryme," which was finished on the 6th of August, 1448, and is preserved among the MSS. in the

* It will be seen in the Appendix that one whole line, omitted by Hearne, has been restored, by following the MS. rather than the printed text.

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Heralds' Office.* In that copy, after the eighth line of the portion quoted in the Appendix, no fewer than eight pages and a half of Hearne's text are left out, and the following lines are inserted in the stead, amongst the prose additions made by compiler of that historical manuscript:—

"And many other thingus mo, of Seynt Thomas dedes,
That felle by twixt him and the Kyng, in his Lif may me rede.
In the xj. C. yere of grace, this good man, Seynt Thomas,
And lxxj. thus imartired was." (Fol. 246.)

Let it not be supposed that these are genuine lines of the original poet, for the compiler of that manuscript has taken the liberty of altering Robert's text throughout, and of adding or omitting *ad libitum.* The variations, at the foot of Hearne's pages, are a proof of this; although they afford no adequate idea of the extent to which the original work has been altered, by the anonymous historian. It is remarkable that he refers, in the lines here quoted, to the "Life" of Beket, which in all probability was the poem contained in these pages: for, although numerous Latin historians are quoted by name, in the prose additions, the only reference to a written testimony occurring in the old *ryme*, is to the metrical 'romance' of

* Fully described in W. H. Black's Catalogue of the Arundel MSS., No. 58, pp. 104-110.

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Richard Cœur de Lion, which is given at full length in the Heralds' MS., while here, probably by reason of the greater frequency of copies of the Saints' Lives, he contents himself with referring to the Legend of Thomas; and this reference may, perhaps, be regarded as the indication of an acknowledgment that the two works had proceeded from one author.

There are fifteen or sixteen Lives of other English Saints contained in the work from which this of Beket is taken; among which may be traced some other correspondences with the same author's Chronicle. These, being short, may occupy the pages of some future publications of the Percy Society, and serve to throw some farther light on the interesting question of their authorship. Certainly they would greatly contribute to illustrate an edition of the metrical Chronicle, from the contemporary manuscript in the Cottonian collection, part only of which has been printed by Hearne, and that without the opportunity of collating his printed sheets with the original, by reason of his distance from London. Should the Editor's time permit, and the Council of the Society approve, he would gladly undertake the performance of what is due to so venerable a writer, and one who has for almost half his life been one of his favorite authors.

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The text of the following pages is taken from the Harleian MS. beforementioned, written little later than the author's own time. The Editor has thought proper to preserve, in every line, the *colon* which marks the *cæsura,* as in that and other antient copies: in the best manuscript of the chronicle a single point occurs, both in the middle and at the end of every line. In addition to a modern punctuation in other respects, he has carefully marked those syllables which need to be peculiarly accented or distinctly expressed, for the completion of the metre, which will be found tolerably regular, and equivalent (if each couplet were divided into four lines) to the later ballad-measure, or the 'common metre' and 'short metre' of modern psalmody. Hearne's glossary to the chronicle will serve equally to explain this legend, to those who are unaccustomed to the language of the thirteenth century.

The portrait of Beket, prefixed to this work, is copied in facsimile from an antient drawing with pen and ink, among other religious pictures, in the Black Book of the Receipt of the Exchequer, preserved in the Public Record Office, Rolls House; where it follows a Calendar of Saints' Days, and extracts from the Gospels, formerly used in the administration of oaths in the Court of Receipt. This picture is not less remarkable

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for its apparent authenticity (being at least as old as Beket's translation in 1220) than for the singular fact of its escape from the destruction levelled by King Henry VIII against every relic and vestige of the saint that his fury could reach, not excepting his very name. The Society is indebted to the kindness of Mr. Fairholt, for the gratuitous execution of the engraving.

W. H. BLACK.

Mill Yard, London,
27th June, 1845.

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THE LIFE AND MARTYRDOM

OF

THOMAS BEKET,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

GILBERT was Thomas fader name: that truë was and god,
And lovede God and holi churche: siththe he wit understod.
The croicĕ to the holie lond: in his ȝunghede he nom,
And mid on Richard, that was his man: to Ierusálem com.
There hi dude here pelrynage: in holi stedĕs faste,
So that among the Sarazyns: ynome hi were atte laste,
Hi and other Cristene men: and in strong prisoun ido,
In meseise and in pyne ynouȝ: of hunger and chile also.
In strongĕ swynchĕ niȝt and dai: to ofswynche here metĕ stronge:
In such swynch and hardĕ lyve: hi bilevede (hem thoȝtĕ) longe. 10
For ful other half ȝer: greate pyne hi hadde and schame,

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In the Princes hous of the lawe: Admiraud was his name.
Ac Gilbert of London: best grace haddĕ there,
Of the Prince and allĕ his: among alle that ther were.
For oftĕ al in feteres: and in othe[r] bende,
The Prince he servede atte mete: for him thoȝte hende.
And ofte the Prince al so god: in consail him wolde drawe,
And of the manere of Engelond: him eschce, and of the lawe.
So that me wolde his felawes: moche god oftĕ do,
For his love, and hi furde: the bet for him also. 20
And nameliche thurf a maide: that this Gilbert lovede faste,
The Princes douȝter Admiraud: that hire hurte al upe him caste;
That lovede him in durnĕ love: in gret murnynge and in wo.
For the Princes heir heo was: for he nadde children no mo.
Of hire he hadde lutĕ blisse: and lutĕ harm hit was,
For heo com to betere ende: as ȝe schulle ihure that cas.
This maide that lovede so: this man durnĕliche,
Heo spac tho heo seȝ hire tyme: with him priveiliche;
And eschtĕ him of Engĕlonde: and of the manere there,
And of the lyf of Cristene men: and what here bilevĕ were. 30
The manere of Engĕlonde: this Gilbert hire tolde fore,
And the toun het Londone: that he was inne ibore;
And the bileve of Cristene men: this blisse withouten ende,

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In hevene schal here medĕ beo: whan hi schulle hennĕ wende.
"Woldestou," quath this maide tho: "ho so it wolde bede the,"
Tholie deth for thi Louerdes love?" this Gilbert seidĕ "ȝé;"
And that him werĕ swithĕ leof: ho so him therto brouȝte.
Tho this maide him iseȝ so stedefast: heo stod longe in thoȝte.
"Ich wole," heo seidĕ, "al mi lond: leve for love of the,
"And Cristene womman bicome: if thu wolt spousi me." 40
Tho Gilbert ihurdĕ this: he stod in gretĕ thoȝt,
And feignede his word her and ther: and ne grantede noȝt.
And seide he was al to hire wille: bote he moste bithenche,
For he was stronge adrad ȝut: of wommanes wrenche.
He drof hire evere biheste: this maidĕ longede sore,
And lovede him durnĕliche: evere the leng the more.
Gilbert and his felawes siththe: as God the gracĕ sende,
Prisoun brekĕ and by niȝte: out of the londĕ wende.
The reve amorwe that hem scholde: to herĕ labour lede,
Nuste he tho he mistĕ hem: what him was to rede. 50
Faste he suede after hem: he and othere mo,
Ac er hi come to Cristene men: me ne miȝt hem noȝt ofgo.
Ac whan hi ne miȝte noȝ[t] hem oftake: aȝen hi turndĕ tho,
And dude here beste aȝé the Prince: ac evereft he was wo.

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The maidĕ makede deol ynouȝ: that heo was evere ibore,
For al the ioye of thisse lyve: hire thuȝte heo hadde forlore.
Heo wep and makede so moche deol: that me ne hurde nevere more,
Ne telle of womman that me wiste: that love abouȝte so sore.
For bi niȝte heo wende alone: heo nustĕ whoderward,
And of spensĕ with hire nom: to sichĕ Gilbard. 60
And bilevede al hire grete heritage. and hire cun also,
And ne sparede for no sorewe: that miȝte come hire to;
Ne for siknisse, ne for deth: ne for sorewe, ne for wo,
Ne for peryl in the seė: na londe nothe mo;
Ne that heo scholde among Cristene men: vilere than an hound beo,
Ne that hi ne knewe hire spechĕ noȝt: ne heo nuste whoderward teo;
Ne whar he scholde alyve: this Gilbert fyndĕ oȝt,
Ne whar he wolde hire spousi: whan heo him hadde al isoȝt.
And nathĕles heo wendĕ forth: with wel god pas.
Hou thinȝth thou, nas heo hardi noȝt? for gode me thinȝth heo was. 70
Heo nom and eschte to Engĕlonde: and gret peryl an hondĕ nom,
So that in pyne and wo ynou: atte laste heo com.
And tho heo was alles thider icome: heo ne couthe Englisch word non,
Bote "Londone, Londone:" to esche whoderward gon.
And therthurf me taȝte hire the wei: so that heo thider com,

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And ȝeode aboutĕ as a best: that ne couthĕ no wysdom,
As heo were of another wordle: that folc thicke ynouȝ,
To biholde such a mopisch best: aboute hire ther drouȝ.
And nameliche ȝungĕ childerne: and wyldĕ boyes also,
For the wonder suede hire: and scornede hire therto. 80
So that mid noyse and cri ynouȝ: attan ende bi cas,
Tho heo com aȝé thulkĕ hous: ther this Gilbert was,
As Seint Thomas was inne ibore: joyful was that cas,
Ther is nouth an hospital: arerd of Seint Thomas.
As Richard therinnĕ was: the noyse he ihurdĕ there,
Out he ȝeodĕ forte awaite: what that wonder were.
He stod, tho he hire ikneu: as a man that were forlore,
In gret wonder he orn in: and tolde his louerd fore.
This Gilbert thoȝtĕ wonder gret: ac thenchésoun wel he thoȝte;
He het Richard that he hire nome: and amid a god wyf broȝte 90
Ther biside, that faire ynou: and with fair semblant hire nom.
Attan endĕ tho this Gilbert: bifore this maidĕ com.
This maidĕ ful upriȝt iswoȝe: tho heo him iseȝ,
That deol was among al that folc: that ther was tho neȝ.
This Gilbert him huld somdel stille: as him nothing nere;
Ac six Bischopes thulkĕ tyme: at Seint Poulĕs were,
As hit were at a parlĕment: for neodĕs of the londe,

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This Gilbert in this wonder cas: him gan understonde,
And ȝeode and toldĕ everechdel: red alto afonge. [100
Therof hem wondrede alle: and in consail stodĕ longe.
The Bischop furst of Chichestre: his avys seidĕ thanne,
That hit was a bitokninge: of God and noȝt of manne;
And that God wolde that hi were ispoused: and such cas sende therfore,
And that ther miȝte sum holi child: bituene hem beon ibore.
Therfore alle hi radde: and bituene hem gonne biseo,
That this Gilbert hire scholde spousi: if heo wolde Cristene beo.
So that this maide amorwe: tofore this Bischops com.
Hi radde hire for Gilbertes love: afongĕ Cristendom.
"Wel fawe," quath this maidĕ tho: "if he me wolde spousi oȝt.
"For ȝe mowe alle understonde: if y nadde that ithoȝt,
"I nadde bileved al mi cun: and so wide him isoȝt, [110
"Ne mid hunger and other wo: him so deore aboȝt."
This maide ibaptiȝed was: among the Bischop[s] echon,
And heȝe men therate of the lond: ther were menion.
For reverence of the heȝĕ cunne: and the gentyl blod also,
Of wham heo com, and for heo was: semee and fair therto.
Of this Bischops hi were anon: ispoused in the place.
Ech man mai siggĕ wel: that ther was Godĕs grace.
For the furste niȝt afterward: bituene hem biȝute was

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The godĕ child of wham we speketh: the holi Seint Thomas. 120

This Gilbert amorwe: so gret wille him com to,

To wende eft to the holi lond: that he nuste what do.

Of his wyf was his mestĕ care: hou scholde fram hire beo ibroȝt,

That was so ȝung, and heo ne couthe: of the londes lawe noȝt.

So moche he carede durnĕliche: that hit was care to iseo,

His wyf was eke in gretĕ thoȝte: wherfore hit miȝtĕ beo,

And draddĕ that hit were for hire: for hi were ispoused so.

Ne mai no man clenĕ telle: of here beire durne wo.

This ȝunge wyf noldĕ fyne: on hire louerd to grede,

Forte thenchésoun of his sor: al clenliche he hire sede; 130

And hou his care was al for hire: to the holie londe to wende.

"Sirĕ," seide this godĕ wyf: "oure Louerd his grace the sende!

"Lute we habbeth to gadere ibeo: and lutĕ joye afonge,

"And if thu wendest thanĕ wey: oute thu worst wel longe.

"Ac noȝt for than ic biddĕ the: if thu haste wille and thoȝt,

"In oure Louerdes servise to wende: ne lef hit for me noȝt.

"For ich hopie that mi Louerd: that me hath iwist herto,

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"The while that y ne kneu him noȝt: ȝut he wole also.
"And eke nou ic am of his: therfore ic biddě the,
"If thu wolt wende in his servise: ne lef it noȝt for me. 140
"Ac bilef me Richard thi man: that mi wardeyn mowe beo,
"That knoweth me and mi langage: forte ic the eft iseo."
Gilbert tho heo hurdě this: in gret ioy was ido,
He ordeyned wel his hous: and his meyné also;
And his wyf hou heo libbě scholde: fortě God sende other sonde,
And wendě forth a Godes name: to the holi londe.
And was oute threo ȝer and an half: er he aȝé com.
Tho he com he fond his sone: a god goinge grom.
Theonige fair and manliche: as eni child miȝte beo,
Ech man tolde of him pris: that him miȝte iseo. 150
Wel he wax and ithe3: and to eche godnisse drou3,
ȝung he was to skole iset: and spedde wel ynou3.
His moder him wolde aldai rede: and oftě on him crie,
To ledě chast lyf and clene: and fleo lecherie.
And lovie tofore allě thing: God and Seinte Marie,
And servie hem and holi churche: and leve alle folie.
This child the3 hit were ȝung: wel hit understod,
For seli child is sone ilered: ther he wole beo god.
Tho this child was bot in elde: of tuo and twenti ȝer,
His moder wende out of thisse lyve: that so wel him loved er. 160
This child wold leng to scolě go: ac his fader him nolde fynde.

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For child that hath his moder ilore: his help is moche bi hynde.
This child thurf his fader heste: as man that no red not,
Servede a burgeys of the toun: and his accountĕs wrot,
So longĕ that he com to court: and was in god offiz
With the Archebischop of Canterbury: Sire Thebaud god and wys.
He servede him so hendĕliche: that in a lutĕ stounde,
He makede him his consailler: so stedefast he him founde.
His Arcedekne he makede him siththe: and dude al bi his rede.
Swithe wel gan this Arcedekne: holi churchĕ lede, 170
And stifliche huld up hirĕ riȝtes: as meni men iseye,
And therof noldĕ tholie wrong: theȝ he scholde therfore deye.
Wel ofte he wende to Rome: for holi churche also,
(Suche prelatȝ nou an urthe: to fewe ther beoth ido,)
So that the Duc of Normandie: ymaked was al in pees,
Henri Kyng of Engĕlond: after Stevene the Belees.
He lovede mochĕ wel to do: and gode men to him nom,
This Henri the godĕ Kyng: tho he to londĕ com;
And fondede to habbe god consail: and wys thurf al his myȝte,
Forto holdĕ riche and pore: and echĕ man to riȝte. 180
Of the Ardekne Thomas: me tolde him sone ynouȝ,
Hou he stable and wys: and to eche godnisse drouȝ.
Thurf the Archebischopes grant: he makede him Chanceler,

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For evere me mounteȝ him above: that haveth mest poër.
Tho Seint Thomas was iturnd: fram offiȝ of holi churche,
To a gret offiȝ of the wordle: therafter he moste wurche.
Alto nobley of the worlde: his contenance he brouȝte,
That me ne huld non so prout: theȝ other were in his thoȝte.
With more noblei he rod ynouȝ: than he was woned to do;
His loreyns weren of golde: stiropes and spores also.[190]
The pley he suede of houndes: and of hauekes also ynouȝ,
As men thoȝte in echĕ poynte: alto prute he drouȝ.
Ac in his hurte hit was another: hou so he him evere bere;
[And ever chaste thurghe al thyng: how so ever it were.]
And evere he was for holi churche: and for pore men also,
Aȝen the proutĕ conteckours: that wolde aȝen hem oȝt do;
To holde up the riȝtes of holi churche: so moche wo he gan dryve,
Aȝen the lithere conteccours: that nuyede him of his lyve;
As the Archebischop tolde: wepingĕ wel sore,
And othere ofte in priveité: that lovede him the more. 200
He wilnede mest of allĕ thing: and on oure Louerd gan crie,
That he moste with onur: levĕ thulke baillie,
And ech other service of court: bi the Kynges gode wille,

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For he ne miȝtĕ paye his court: bote he scholde his soulĕ spille.
Ac the King him fond so stable: and so god consailler,
That he nolde maki for no thing: another chanceler.
He ne triste to non so moche: ne ther nas non so heȝ,
That so moche wiste his priveitez: ne that him was so neȝ.
So moche he caste his hurte on him: that on his warde he gan do
His eldeste sone Sire Henri: and his heire also; 210
That he were his wardeyn: and his ordeynour,
To wissĕ him after his wille: and to the Kinges honur.
The King wende to Normandie: to seo tourney there,
And bilevede his sone with Seint Thomas: that he his wardeyn were.
Bothe the fader and the sone: so moche here lovĕ caste,
Upĕ Seint Thomas the holi man: the while it wolde ilaste;
Ther nas non in Engĕlonde: that hadde so gret poër,
Of the kynedom as Seint Thomas: that was Chanceler.
Hit biful siththe that Sire Tebaud: (as God the gracĕ sende,)
Tharchebischop of Canterbure: out of this wordle wende. 220
The crie was sonĕ widĕ couth: among thue and freo,
That Seint Thomas scholde after him: Archĕbischop beo.
The King also in Normandie: tho me tolde him the cas,
Anon bar his hurtĕ mest: to do ther Seint Thomas.

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The Covent of Canterbury: desirede him also;
So as men wolde: ibrouȝt hit was therto.
At Westmynstre he was ichose: to thulkĕ heȝe poër,
The vyfte ȝer that he was: ymaked Chanceler.
Of elde he was thulkĕ tyme: of four and fourti ȝer;
His owe deth he afeng: and his owe martirdom ther.
For the Kyng was in Normandie: ipresented he was [230
To his ȝunge sone in Engĕlonde: for non other Kyng ther nas.
Ac theȝ hit were aȝen his wille: he nolde hit noȝt forsake,
Ac he eschte in whiche manere: he scholde the croicĕ take.
Me seide him that scholde afonge: holi churche so freo,
That heo ne scholde under no man: bote under the Pope beo;
Ne nothing thenche bote holdĕ up: holi churehĕ lawe.
"In thisse manere," quath Seint Thomas: "ic hire afongĕ fawe."
A Witsonedai this was: that this dede com to ende,
This gode man toward Canterbury: anon him gan wende.
Al the contray with onur: to him com and drouȝ; [240
Ther was for him in Canterbury: ioye and blisse ynouȝ.
The dai of the Trinité: isacred he was,
And afeng his digneté: the gode man Seint Thomas.
Sire Henri the Kynges sone: was at his sacringe,
And sixtene Bischops ek: this dede to endĕ forto bringe.
Tho this dede was ido: hi gonne to sendĕ sone,
After his pallioun to Rome: as riȝt was to done.
The Pope Alisandre: was tho at Montpaillers,

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Thider wende this wisĕ men: that were messagers. 250
The Abbot Adam of Evesham: to here cheveteyn hi nome,
To the Pope Alisandre: to Montpaillers hi come.
Here erande hi haddĕ sone: for he hem nothing ne wornde,
Hi neme of him here leve: and hamward aȝé turnde.
And this pallioun was: to Seint Thomas ibrouȝt:
This gode man hit afeng: with wel myldĕ thoȝt.
Tho he was in his digneté: al clanliche ido,
He gan to changi al his lyf: and his manere also.
The here he dudĕ next his liche: his flesches maister to beo,
Schurte and brech streit ynouȝ: adoun to the kneo.
For he thoȝte he miȝtĕ wel: of othere habbe maistrie,
If he hadde of his owe flesch: thurfout seignurye. 262
If his soulĕ maister were: and his flesch hire hyne,
Him thoȝte he miȝte his digneté: bringĕ to god fyne.
Above the herĕ siththe: thabyt of monek he nom,
And siththĕ clerkĕs robe above: as to his stat bicom.
So that he was withinne monek: withoutĕ clerk also,
Thurf thabyt that he hadde on him: priveiliche ido.
In penance and in fastinge: he was niȝt and dai,
And in oreisoun bote the while: he aslepĕ lai. 270
Evere wan he massĕ song: he wep and siȝtĕ sore,
Faste he hastede therwith: ne miȝtĕ no man more.
Faire me fedde him attĕ mete: with great noblé and prute,
And of the beste him silve he at: swithĕ scars and lute.

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Of his ordres he was wel streit: and he was in greete fere,
Forto ordeini eni man: bote he the betere were.
Idel nolde he nevere beo: bote evere doinge he was,
Of eche manere of betere lyve: nevere bischop nas.
Sire Henry the Kingĕs sone: that with him was ibroȝt,
Levede evere in his warde: fram him he noldĕ noȝt. [280]
The love that bituene hem was: such nas nevere iseȝe,
Ne this child naddĕ of no man: more love ne fairere eye.
Siththe that hit biful that the King: fram Normandie com
To Engĕlond, to loke the stat: of his kynĕdom.
Seint Thomas nam with him: Sire Henri his sone,
And wendĕ faire aȝen him: anon to South Hamptonne.
Ther was ioye and blisse ynouȝ: tho hi togadere come,
Hi custen hem faste and clupte: and herede God ilome.
The King bilevede in Engĕlond: to loke his kynĕdom,
And to al his privei consail: Seint Thomas he nom;
And huld him evere as he dude er: his heȝiste [290 consailler,
And nolde his thonkes habbe ihaved: non other chanceler.
Ac natheles whan he eni thing: dudĕ aȝen riȝte,
Seint Thomas was theraȝen: evere bi al his myȝte.
Siththe hit biful that the Bischop: of Wircestre ded was,
And Sire Gilbert Foliot: (as God ȝaf that cas),
That was Bischop of Hereford: ibroȝt was ȝut to more,
And ymaked Bischop of Londone: that ne reude him noȝt sore.

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So that both the bischopriches: fulle bothe in the Kynges hond,
Of Wircestre and of Hereford: as lawĕ was of lond.
The Kyng ne ȝaf hem noȝt anon: ac he huld hem inně longe, 301
In his hond that he myȝte: the morĕ prou afonge.
Hit ne likede noȝt Seint Thomas: that holi churchĕ so,
Scholde for a lutĕ coveitise: in the Kinges hond beo ido.
Him thoȝte that hit was wel mochel: aȝen oure Louerdes wille,
And that the Kyng myȝtĕ so: holi churchĕ spille.
In faire manere he bad the Kyng: that he ne scholde bileve,
That thulkĕ tuei bischopriches: sum god man he ȝeve.
The Kyng anon myldĕliche: grantede his bone,
And this bischopriches he ȝaf: tuei godĕ men wel sone.
Sire Roger he makede a god man: Bischop of Wircestre,
Sire Roberts sone that was: Eorl of Gloucestre. 312
Bischop he makede of Hereford: a good man ynouȝ,
Sire Robert of Mulnes: that to alle godnisse drouȝ.
Anoȝt Seint Thomas thoȝte wel: that he ne miȝte all paye,
The King ne his consail, bote he wolde: holi churche bitraye.
In care and sorewe he was ynou: hou he miȝte bestĕ do,
For he ne miȝte noȝt pae the Kyng: and oure Louerd also.
Seint Thomas halewe thulkĕ ȝer: the churche of Redinge,
That ifounded was and arerd: thurf Henri ourĕ Kynge;

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That lyth ther faire ibured: Williames sone Bastard. 321
In thulkĕ ȝer Seint Thomas ek: schrynede Seint Edward,
At Westmynstre as he lith: that bifore Kyng Williem was,
Bote King Harald him was bituene: for his poër no leng nas.
The love was evere gret ynouȝ: bitueně Seint Thomas
And the King, forte the devel: hit desturbede, allas!
Lute and lute the contek aros: for porĕ manes riȝte,
For paye oure Louerde and the King: no man ne miȝte.
The furstĕ tyme that Seint Thomas: outliche him withsede,
Was for pouere men that the Kynge: dude an unriȝt dede. 330
The King nom thurf al Engĕlond: fram ȝere to ȝerĕ wide,
After his wille a summe of pans: ideld in echĕ side.
And siththe he let thurf enqueste: thurf the contray enquere,
Hou moch echĕ man scholde paye: and what here riȝt were.
So longe that he nom it to taillage: and eschte hit attĕ laste,
Eche ȝur thurf a certeyn rente: thurf al Engĕlondĕ faste.
What for eye, what for love: non him ne withsede,
Ac evere thoȝte Seint Thomas: that hit was an unriȝt dede.
He thoȝte on God and on his soule: and bilevede manhede,

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And to the King wel baldĕliche: wende withoutĕ drede. 340
"Sire," he seide, "if hit is thi wille: thu ert riche and hende,
"And Kyng of gret poër ynouȝ: oure Louerd thé morĕ sende!
"A taillage thu hast ech ȝer: thurf out al thi londe,
"And eschet hit for a certeyn rente: with unriȝt ich understonde.
"For certeyn rente schal beo itake: ech ȝer at a certeyn day,
"And siththe a certeyn assigned: as thu wost by riȝtĕ lay.
"Ac this nas noȝt certeyn itake: eche ȝer assigned is,
"Thurf enqueste of the contray: as taillage, iwis.
"Whar thurf me thinȝth a certeyn rente: thu ne miȝt noȝt make,
"Ac a taillage and sumdel: with unriȝt itake." 350
"Thomas, Thomas," quath the Kyng: "thu ert mi Chanceler.
"Thu auȝtest bet holdĕ up: than withsiggĕ mi poër."
"Sire," quath this holi man: "ich habbe ibeo with thé,
"And thu hast (God hit thé ȝulde): gret god ido me;
"Ac another baillie ich habbe afonge: theȝ hit were aȝen mi wille.
"And ynemai noȝt bothĕ wel: bote ich mi soule aspille.
"For ich am alto lutĕ worth: that on forto loke.
"Thanne dude he gret folie: that morĕ me bitoke.
"Therfore ich ȝuldĕ thé up here: al clene the chancelerie,

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"And takĕ me to holi churche: to God and Seinte Marie." 360

Tho was the King wroth ynouȝ: wrothere than he evere was;

Ac nathĕles his hurtĕ bar: evere to Seint Thomas.

The thridde thing ȝut mest of alle: in contek hem brouȝte.

A preost ther was a lither man: that of God noȝt ne rouȝte,

That of manslaȝt was bicliped: and ynome also,

And in the Bischopes prisoun was: of Salesbury ido.

The manĕs freond that was aslawe: suëde up him faste,

So that the preost to jugĕment: ibroȝt was attĕ laste.

Me acusede him faste of the dethe: ac he nanswerede noȝt therto,

And huld him faste to holi churche: and upe non other nolde hit do. 370

Iloked he was to purgi him: thurf clergie if he miȝte,

And therof him was dai iset: thurf holi churchĕ riȝte.

Tho the dai him was icome: he ne miȝte him purgi noȝt;

He was sone ilad aȝen: and in prisoun ibroȝt.

Thanne was the Bischop in gret doute: what were therof to done,

Forto habbĕ wisere red: to Seint Thomas he sendĕ sone.

And he sendĕ worde aȝé: that he scholde the preöst take,

And desordeyni him of his ordre: and a lewed man of him make;

And siththe in strong warde him do: that he nevere out ne wende,

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In penance and in pyne ynouȝ: his synne forto amende.
The Bischop of Salesbury: dude Seint Thomas heste,[381]
So that this preöst was ibroȝt: in turmentȝ with the meste.
So that the tethingĕ therof: to the Kyngĕ com,
That a lither theof and a manquellere: haddĕ so liȝt dom.
Him thoȝtĕ that hit nas noȝt lawe: ne that hit miȝte beo so;
And Phelip de Boys a canoun: him haddĕ eke misdo.
Therfore was ech other clerc: the more aȝen his wille,
Him thoȝtĕ such lawe scholde: the pays of londe aspille.
He wilnede as god Kyng: pays in his londe,
And in god ententĕ wel hit do: he dude ech understonde. 390
For the pays of the londe: he wolde holdĕ also fawe,
As Seint Thomas in his manére; holi churchĕ lawe.
He seidĕ that the develes lymes: that ycrouned werĕ so,
That miȝtĕ so al longĕ dai: aȝen his pays do.
For the jugement was so lute: the lasse hi woldĕ doute,
And do theofthe and robberie: in al the lond aboute.
To Westmystre he let sumni: the Bischopes of his londe,
And Clerkes that grettest werĕ ek: and heȝist, ich understonde.
"Beaus seignurs," he seide: "ynot what ye habbeth ithoȝt:
"If ȝe goth forth mid ȝourĕ wille: oure pays ne worth riȝt noȝt. 400
"If a clerk hath a man aslawe: other gret theofthe ido,

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"And heo mowe be desordeyned: and come to fynĕ so;
"Misdo hi wolleth al longĕ day: and theruppĕ beo wel bolde,
"And so schal the pays of the londe: wol uvele beon iholde.
"For lute hi woldĕ recche: to loose here ordre so,
"Whan for here ordre hi ne sparieth: theofthĕ forto do.
"Ac evere the heȝire here ordre is: me thinȝth, bi pur lawe,
"The strongere scholdĕ here dom beo: whan hi wolde to theofthe drawe."
"Sire, sire," quath Seint Thomas: "(if hit is thi wille),
"Loth ous were do eni thing: thi pays forto aspille.
"Ac clerkes that beoth yordeyned: thu wost hi bereth a signe, 411
"That hi beoth lymes of holi churche: that so worthi is and digne.
"If hi were thanne with thulkĕ signe: to uvele dethe ido,
"Aviled werĕ and ischend: holi churchĕ so.
"If hi beoth furst desordeyned: for thulkĕ silvĕ dede,
"And siththe thurf dom to dethe ido: hit nere noȝt wel to rede.
"For hit nas nevere lawe ne riȝt: doble dom to take,
"For o trespas as thu wost: and sinne hit were to make.
"And unworthere than a lewed man: holi churche were so,
"For a lewed man for o trespas: nis bote o jugĕment ido.
"Therfore thi gracĕ we bisecheth: (if hit is thi wille,) 421

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"That thu ne rere no nuë lawe: holi churche to spille.
"For we biddeth niȝt and dai: as riȝt is that we do,
"For thé and for thi children ek: and for thi kynedom also."
"Beau sire," quath the King tho: "thu saïst wel ynouȝ:
"Ich hadde loth bi myne conciënce: do holi churche eni wouȝ.
"Ac lawes ther beoth and custumës: that evere habbeth ibeo iholde,
"Of bischopes thurf al Engĕlonde: as oure ancestres habbeth itolde.
"And bi the Kyng Henriës dai: that oure ancéstre was,
"Iconfermed were and iholdĕ ek: that no man ther aȝé nas. 430
"Woltou thulke lawĕs holde? do me to understondĕ sone."
"We schulle do, sire," quath Seint Thomas: "al that is to done.
"Alle the lawes and custumës: we woleth holde bi ourĕ miȝte,
"That beoth to holde and habbeth ibeo: sire, sauvé ourĕ riȝte."
"Sauf ȝourĕ riȝtĕs?" quath the Kyng: "beau sire, whi saistou so?
"Inĕ scholde nothing bi that word: aȝé thi willĕ do
"That thu noldest siggĕ that hit were: aȝen holi churchĕ riȝte;
"And bringĕ so al mi lond: in contek and in fiȝte.
"Ac therwithoutĕ oldĕ lawes: siker ich understonde,

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"That hit beo venymous: to the pays of mi londe."440
"Sire, sire," quath this holi man: "ne meve ȝe ȝou riȝt noȝt:
"Wel thu wost that ech of ous: er we were herto ibroȝt,
"Trunisse thé sworě, as riȝt was: and urthlich onur also,
"Sauvé oure ordre and oure riȝt: ac that was out ido.
"Hou scholde we nouthě other do? ne auȝte ȝe ous noȝt beode.
"For Godes love hold ous to riȝte: for ȝe nabbeth non other neode."
"Ich iseo wel, Thomas," quath the King: "wharto thu wolt drawe:
"Thu ert icome to latě forth: to bynyme ous ourě lawe.
"Thu woldest me make morě wrecche: than evere eni kyng was:
"Thu ert icome therto to late: thu hast icast ambezas."
The Kyng aros mid wraththe ynouȝ: and let hem sitte echon, 451
And to his chambre wend forth: and no grettě noȝt on.
Fram Londone he wendě sone: in wraththe as theȝ hit were:
He ne seide no man of his thoȝt: ac bilevedě hem there.
Tho Bischopes thoȝtě tho anon: that he was wroth ynouȝ,
Ther werě fewe bote Seint Thomas: that toward him ne drouȝ.
On Seint Thomas hi cridě faste: his thoȝt forto wende,
Other he wolde al that lond: with thulke worth aschende.
Knyghtes and othere eft come: that with the Kingě were,

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And bedĕ him ententifliche: that he thulkĕ word forbere;
And that him werĕ gret folie: the King in wraththĕ bringe, 461
And desturbi al that lond: for so lutĕ thinge.
Seint Thomas in thoȝtĕ longe: "Leove bretheren," he sede,
"Nevere aȝé the Kynges honur: ynellĕ do no dede.
"Ac ech word ich wole bileve: that aȝé the Kynges honur is."
Tho were thothere glad ynouȝ: tho hi ihurdĕ this;
And radde him wendĕ to the Kyng: his wraththĕ forto stille.
"Leof me were," quath Seint Thomas: "mid riȝtĕ do his wille."
To the Kyng he wende to Oxenford: and with him ther he fond 471
Gretĕ Eorlĕs, and Barouns: the heȝiste of the lond.
The King him welcomedĕ so: mid wel lutĕ chere.
Bischopes he let clipie: and Eorlĕs that ther were.
"Beau sires," quath the King: "ich am Kyng: with riȝtĕs of this londe:
"Custumes ther were bifore: yused ich understonde.
"And so moche wrecchĕ nam ynoȝt: that ynelle the lawĕs holde,
"That oure ancéstres huldĕ wyle: as oure counsailou[r]s tolde.
"Therfore ich wole that thulkĕ lawes: iconfermed beo echon,
"Of myn Eorles and of myne Knyȝtes: that hi ne withsigge noȝt on.

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" Therfore ich hotĕ ȝou echone: that ȝe beo thulkĕ day,
" At mi manèr at Clarendone: withoutĕ ech delay, 480
" To confermi thulkĕ lawes: upe peyne that ich wole sett,
" Ich hote that ȝe beo ther echon: that nothing ȝou ne lette."
Siththĕ departedĕ this court: to his inne ech drouȝ,
And evere was Seint Thomas: in care and sorewe ynouȝ.
The Bischops and the Barouns: come allĕ to the daye,
To Clarendone in Wiltĕschire: the Kyng forto paye.
The parlĕment him was iholde: in the ellevethe ȝere
Of the Kyngĕs corónĕment: that so moche folc brouȝte there.
And elleve hondred ȝer: in the furthe and sixti ȝer riȝt,
Hit was after that oure Louerd: in his moder was aliȝt.
Noble was the parlĕment: of this Clarendone, 491
For ther were, furst and aforeward: the Kyng and his sone.
And the Archebischop of Canterbury: and Sire Roger also,
Tharchebischop of Everwyk: for nere ther bote thei tuo.
And Sire Gilbert Foliot: Bischop of Londone,
And the Bischop of Lincolne: were alle at Clarendone.
And Sire Neol, Bischop of Ely: and the Bischop of Wircestre,
Sire Roger, and Sire Hillari: Bischop of Circestre.
The Bischop William of Nortwich: and the Bischop of Wy[n]chestre,
Sire Henri, and Sire Bartlomeu: Bischop of Chichestre.

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Sire Osbern, and Sire Godĕfrai: Bischop of Excestre, 501
Sire Austin, and Sire Blas: Bischop of Wircestre.
The Bischop of Salesbury: Jocelyn, and Robert,
The Bischop of Herford: and also Sire Richard,
The Bischop of Chestre: this Bischops echon,
Were at this parlĕment: and Eorles meni on.
Sire Renald Eorl of Cornwaille: and the Eorl of Leicestre,
Sire Robert, and Sire Roger: Eorl of Gloucestre.
Sire Conan Eorl of Bretaigne: and the Eorl John of Angeo,
Sire Godefrai Eorl de Maundĕvyle: was ther also. 510
Sire Hughĕ Eorl of Chestre: and Eorl Williem of Ferèrs,
Were at this parlĕment: stout ynou and fers.
Barouns ther were meni on: as Sire Williem de Lucy,
And Sire Renaud de Wareyne: and Sire Renaud de Seint Walry.
Sire Roger Bigod also: Sire Richard de Caunvyle,
Sire Williem de Brewĕs ek: Sire Robert de Dunstanvyle.
Sire Neel de Mountbray: Sire Umfrai de Booun,
Sire Simon de Beauchamp: louerd of meni o toun.
Sire Jocelin de Baillolf: Sire Williem dé Hastinge,
Sire Hughe de Morevyle: that so wel was with the Kynge. 520
Sire Williem Malet: Sire Johan the Seneschal,
Sire Simon le Fiz Peres: gret man thurfout al.
Sire Williem de Maudut: and Sire Godefrai de Veer;
Thus allĕ gretĕ louerdlings: and ȝut mo were ther.
Nou God helpĕ Seint Thomas: (for he was alone,)

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That withseidĕ attĕ laste: this lordlings echone.
Tho hi bigonne this parlĕment: the King him eschte anon,
Whar hi wolde the lawĕs holde: as his ancéstres dude echon.
"Sire," quath Seint Thomas: "if hit thi willĕ is, 529
"Ech man mot spekĕ for him silve: and ich for me iwis.
"For my stat, and for holi churche: ich ansuerie therto,
"That alle the gode old lawes that habbeth ibeo: and ȝut beoth also,
Granti ich woli for holi churche: and for to habbe thin ore,
"Sauf oure riȝt and oure ordre: thu ne miȝt esche no more."
For that word the King was wroth: that gan him evere mislike.
Seint Thomas wep in his hurte: and sorĕ gan to sike.
Alto blodi was that word: and deore hit was ibouȝt,
For therfore to dethe he was: attĕ laste ibrouȝt. 538
The Bischop of Northwich: and of Salesbure also,
Kneulede toforĕ him wepinge: that he scholde another do;
And habbĕ reuthe of holi churche: and of hem echone,
That hi nere to grounde ibrouȝt: thurf thulkĕ word alone.
Heȝe men of the Kingĕs curt: meni on ekĕ wende,
And kneulede toforĕ Seint Thomas: that word to amende.
"Lordlings," quath Seint Thomas: "ich am ȝut ȝung man,
"And lutĕ while bischop ibeo: and lute theron ich can.
"Therfore of this oldĕ lawes: transcrit he me take,
"And ich wole ther uppe consailli me: which beo to forsake."

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The Kyng him let transcrit make: of this custumes echon:
Seint Thomas grantede somme: and withseidĕ meni on.
The lawĕs that ich wole ȝou telle: he grantedĕ wel fawe:— 551
If a bonde man hadde a sone: to clergie idrawe,
He ne scholde withoute his louerdes leve: not icrouned beo,
For thu man ne mai noȝt boute his louerd: beo ymaked freo.
Another lawe he grantede ek: that ȝe mowe nou iseo:
If eni man of holi churche: holdeth eni laifeo,
Persoun, other what he beo: he schal do therfore,
Servise that to the kingĕ falth: that his riȝt ne beo forlore.
And in plaiding stonde in echĕ place: and jugĕment also,
Bote ther man schal beo bylymed: other to dethe ido.
He grantede ek if eni man: the kingĕs traytour were,
And eni man his catel: to holi churchĕ bere; 562
That holi churche ne scholdĕ noȝt: the catel therĕ lette,
That the kyng wel baldĕliche: out of the churche hit felte.
For al that the feloun hath: the kyngĕs hit is,
And eche man mai in holi churche: his owĕ take iwis.
He grantede ek that a churche: as of the kingĕs ce,
In one stede evere and evere: ne scholde iȝevĕ beo,
As to hous of religioun: withoute the kingĕs leve,
And that he, other the patroun: furst the ȝift ȝeve.
Seint Thomas grantede this: and felĕ othere mo, 571
Ac this othere he withsede: that dudĕ him wel wo:—

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If bituene tuei lewede men: were eni strivinge,
Other bituene a lewede man and a clerc: for holi churchĕ thinge;
As for an avoweisoun of churche: whether scholde the churchĕ ȝyve;
The king wolde that in his hond: the plai were idryve:
Fora[s]moche as a lewed man: that o parti was,
Clanliche was under the kyng: and under the bischop nas.
That other was, that no bischop: ne clerc nothĕ mo,
Ne schulde withoute the kingĕs leve: out of Engĕlonde go, 580
And thanne hi schulde swerie here oth: upe the boc, iwis,
That hi ne scholde purchaci non uvel: the Kyng, ne non of his.
The thridde was, that if eni man: in mansing were ibrouȝt,
And siththe come to amendĕment: and aȝé riȝte nerĕ noȝt;
That he ne swore noȝt upe the boc: ac borewes fyndĕ scholde,
To stonde to al that holi churche: with riȝtĕ lokie wolde.
The furthĕ was, that no man: that of the kinge huld oȝt,
In chief other in eni servise: in mansinge were ibroȝt;
Bote the wardeyn of holi churche: that brouȝtĕ him therto, 589
The king sende other his baillif: what he hadde misdo;
And loke ther wer he wolde: to amendĕment hit bringe,
And bote he wolde bi herĕ leve: do thannĕ the mansinge.
The vyftĕ was, that bischopriches: and abbeyes also,

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That vacantz were of prelatz: in kinges hond were ido;
And the king scholdĕ al that lond: in his hond take,
Forte attĕ laste that him lustĕ: eni prelat ther make;
And thulke prelat thannĕ sholde: in his chapel ichose [beo],
Of his clerkĕs which he wolde: to prelat biseo;
And thannĕ whan he were ichose: in his chapel riȝt there,
Homage he scholde him do: er he confermed were.600
The sixtĕ was, if eni play: to chapitre were idrawe,
And eni makede his appel: that me dude him unlawe;
To the bischop fram arcedekne: his appel he scholdĕ make,
And from bischop to archebischop: and siththe non heȝerĕ take;
And bote the archĕbischopes curt: to riȝte him woldĕ bringe,
That he scholde fram thulkĕ curt: biclipie to the kynge;
And fram kinge no heȝere mo: and siththĕ attan ende,
Plaidinge fram holi churche: to the kyngĕ scholdĕ wende;
And the king amendi scholde: the archĕbischopes dede,
And beo in the popĕs stede: that Seint Thomas withsede. 610
The sovethe is, that plaiding: that of dettĕ were,
To ȝuldĕ wel with truthe ipliȝt: and noȝt iȝuldĕ nere.
Al theȝ thurf truthĕ were the play: hit scholdĕ beon ibrouȝt,
Bifore the king and his baillifs: and to holi churchĕ nouȝt.
The eiȝtethĕ was, that in the londe: citacioun non nere,

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Thurf bulle of the pope of Rome: ac al clene ileved were.
The neoȝethe was, that Peteres pans: that me gadereth meni on,
To the pope nere not on isend: ac to the king echon.
The teothe was, if eni clerk: as feloun were itake,
And for feloun iproved: and ne miȝte hit noȝt forsake;
That me scholde him furst desordeyny: and siththĕ thurf pur lawe, 621
And pur jugement of the lond: bringe him out of dawe.
The King thuse custumes pultĕ forth: and meni other anon,
And het thurfout al Engĕlond: holdĕ hem echon.
This was bifore the Candelmasse: the furthe dai ido:
The King het tho Seint Thomas: and other Bischopes also,
On this chartre sette here seles: that non aftertalĕ nere,
Ac thurfout al Engĕlond: that this custumes iholdĕ were.
"Sire, sire," quath Seint Thomas: "for Godĕs love thin ore!
"To consailli ous bet ȝif ous furst: er we spekĕ more."
So that respit was iȝyve: and ech wende in his side:
Seint Thomas nom his transcrit: and nolde no leng abide.
To Winchestre he wendĕ thanne: with sorwe and care ynouȝ, 633
Hou he myȝtĕ holi churche: schuldĕ fram his wouȝ.
Whan other men were faste aslepe: he wep and siȝtĕ sore,

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And bad God helpĕ holi churche: and cride him milce and ore.
He seȝ ther naš bot o wei: other he moste stif beo,
Other holi churchĕ was bynethe: mid riȝte that was so freo.
Carful he was and sori: that he toc on so,
Forto entri in answare: ther ne scholde non do; 640
That he afeng the transcrit: and furst hadde ibede,
For him thoȝte al holi churche: he misdude in the stede.
For holi churche ne scholdĕ noȝt: in none stede stonde to dome,
Ne answere to kyng ne prince: bote the pope of Rome.
The deol that Seint Thomas makede: no tongĕ telle ne may:
"Louerd!" he seide, "allas, allas: that ich evere iseȝ this day!
"That ich, the warde of holi churche: so folliche scholdĕ take,
"So freo as heo was er: so theu nou hire make!
"Heo that was so freo and heȝ: bi myn ancéstres daye,
"That ich scholde hire bynethĕ bringe: (allas) and so bitraye! 650
"For this martirs that felĕ were: for hire to dethe ido,
"And heo is thu thurf me ymaked: allas! whi dude ich evere so?
"Unworth ich am of holi churche: wardeyn forto beo,
"And of unworthe therto ynome: as meni man mai iseo.
"For ynam (as riȝt were): fram non ordre ynome,

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"Ac fram Kinges court to holi churche: uvele wolde hit bicome!
"Of houndes ich was and hauekes: wardeyn with the Kyng;
"And wardeyn am of soulĕs nouthe: that ne vieth nothing.
"Ich, that forsoc myn owĕ soule: the while ich was Chanceler,
"So meni soulen habbe to loke: allas what do ich her!
"Ich doute that God me habbe forsake: hou tok ich on? allas!" 661
The deol that makede this holi man: withoute ende evere hit was.
He wep and siȝtĕ niȝt and dai: he huld him silve forlore;
And if he miȝte asoilled beo: to the Pope he wolthe therfore.
So he wende toward Canterbury: sone the Kyng me tolde,
That tharchĕbischop nolde: noȝt his statutz holde.
To the see he wende: toward Rome: that no man hit nuste,
Bote tueye that he tok with him: that of his consail mest wiste.
Siththe whan his men him miste: and nuste whar he bicom,
And seȝe that hi were louerdles: ech of hem his red nom.
Forto do everech his beste: to wende ech in his side,
As men that were louerdles: and nuste noȝt wher abide. 672

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This holi man wende forth: and dude him into schip sone,
And wendĕ forthward in the see: as he thoȝte to done.
The wynd com, as oure Louerd hit wolde: and drof hem aȝé to londe,
Siththe he wende him eft into the see: passage forto fonde.
The wynd him drof eft aȝé: and ȝut in he wende,
And evere he was aȝen idryve: as oure Louerd the gracĕ sende.
Tho iseȝ wel this holi man: that hit nas noȝt Godĕs wille,
That he the ȝut of londĕ wende: he turnde aȝé wel stille. 680
On of his serjantz sat aniȝt: the whilĕ that men woke,
In his in at Canterbury: the chambre forto loke.
In theveninge he bad his knave: the dore to stekĕ faste,
The knavĕ wende toward the dore: and his eȝen aboutĕ caste.
Tho seȝ he Seint Thomas: in an hurnĕ stonde,
He orn and tolde his maister fore: and thonkede Godĕs sonde.
The serjant ne leovede hit noȝt: ac natheles up he aros,
And fon Seint Thomas in an hurne: sumdel him agros.
Ther was sone joye and blisse: that folc to him drouȝ,
And wolcome him and makede feste: with joye and blisse ynouȝ. 690
Hi leidĕ bord and spraddĕ cloth: and gonne to sopi faste.
Seint Thomas wel myldĕliche: tolde hem attĕ laste,

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Whoder he thoȝtĕ habbe iwende: and what cas God him sende,
And hou hit nas noȝt Godĕs wille: that he the ȝut wende.
Tethinges to the Kyngĕ come: hou this gode man Seint Thomas,
Aȝen the statutz of Clarendone: of londe iwendĕ was.
For the statut was, that no bischop: scholdĕ for non ende,
Withoutĕ levĕ of the Kynge: out of londĕ wende.
The King sende anon his men: to seisi al his lond,
And tharchebischopriche also: as traitours, in his hond.
The baillifs come to Canterbury: as hi ihotĕ were;
Tho hi wendĕ habbe here wille: hi fonde Seint Thomas there. 700
Nothing ne miȝten hi seisi tho: thanĕ wei hi hadde forlore,
As hi come hi wende aȝé: and tolde the Kingĕ fore.
ȝut Seint Thomas thoȝtĕ eft: forto fondi more,
If he miȝte habbe of the Kinge: betere milce and ore.
He ȝarkede him wel myldĕliche: and to him thane wei nom,
He fond him at Wodĕstoke: and to him thider he com.
As his urliche louerd: he grette him faire ynouȝ,
The Kyng bihuld him al anhoker: and scornliche somdel louȝ. 710
"Thomas," he seide, "hou goth this: beo we so gretĕ fon,
"That we ne mowe beo in one londe: Thomas, hou schal this gon?"
"Sire, sire," quath Seint Thomas: "so ne schal hit nevere beo,

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"Ac God sende holi churche: betere grace to thé.
"And sende thé wille to loven hire bet: and God for his miȝte.
"Ne lete me nevere aȝen thi wille: do thing mid unriȝte."
This Archebischop of Canterbure: fondede forto bringe
Acord and love, bi his poër: bituene him and the Kynge.
The King swor anon his oth: that non other acord he nolde,
Bote the statutz of Clarendone: ech bischop holdĕ scholde; 720
And nameliche theo for alle other: if a clerk hadde misdo,
And for feloun iproved were: and for theof also,
That me scholde him anon desordeynen: and siththĕ, thurf lawe,
The Kingĕs baillyf delyvri him: to anhongĕ other to drawe.
Seint Thomas iseȝ wel tho: that ther nas wei bote on;
Other he mostĕ withstonde: other his riȝtes forgon.
He thoȝt that holi churche: he nolde nevère bitraye,
And that he nolde nevere in suche servage: bringe hire bi his daye.
Rathere he wolde, as othere were: to martirdom beo ido,
Than holi churche were to bynethe: iredi he was therto.
Nevere ne miȝte the King and he: nothing acordi there, 731
Ac departede al in wraththe: as hi dude ofte ere.
The King him makede wroth ynouȝ: that so ofte in baret was,

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For o man that him withsede: and non other azen him nas.
In gretĕ wraththe he swor his oth: that he wolde of him beo awreke,
If he moste abide the dai: and with tungĕ speke.
He let somni Seint Thomas: the nexte Thursdai that ther were,
Before Seint Lukes dai, at Norhamptone: to zeve him ansuere there.
And alle the Bischops of the lond: and the Bärouns also,
He het to beo ther thulke dai: al his heste to do. 740
Seint Thomas londĕs ek: in his hond hi nome,
As to distreigny him: that to his court he come.
Nou God helpe Seint Thomas: for other help nadde he non,
Among so meni tirantz to come: that allĕ were his fon!
Bodi and soulĕ he bitok: Iësus Godĕs Sone,
And at his dai isumned: he wende to Norhamptone.
In the castel sat the curt: bifore the tirantz echone,
This holi man a Godĕs name: wende among hem one.
"Sire King," he seidĕ, "God thé loke: and sauve thi digneté!
"Isumned ich am to this dai: to answère t o tl.é. 750
"Archebischop of Canterbure: nas nevere isumned so;
"Ne distreigned of nothing: ynot what thu thenzst do.
"Inot what is thi nuë lawe: that thu gynst forth to drawe,
"Bote hit beo on of Clarendone: that thu thenzst bringe to lawe.

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"On me nastou poër non: such distresce to do,
"Imaked ich am wardeyn of holi churche: thez yně beo noȝt worthi therto.
"Thi gostlich fader ich am: thez thu of me lutě lete;
"Hit nas nevere ordre that the sone: the fader schuldě bete,
"Ne that the disciple beote his maister: al this were aȝé lawe.
"Al this (ho so rízt bihalth): thu gynnest forth to drawe. 760
"And the Bischops also god: that wardeyns beoth mid me,
"To holde thonur of holi churche: and the heze digneté,
"Beoth aboutě hire to schende: and bringě to vylté,
"Nou God ȝyve holi churche: betere grace to thé!
"If thu wolt ouȝt toward me: thu wost wel ynemai noȝt fiȝte,
"Iredi ich am the deth to afonge: for holi churchě riȝte."
"Inele no man," quath the King: "for holi churchě quelle.
"Beau sire, thu spext as a fol: another thu most telle.
"Com to morwe to spechě tyme: that thu thane dai ne breke;
"And ich wole of other thinges: thanně to thé speke."
Thus ther departede the court: amorwe thane Fridai,
Seint Thomas wendě thider aȝé: tho he thane tyme isay. 772
The King sat anhez on his cee: and acopede him faste.

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"Thu were," he seide, "mi Chanceler: alto longe hit ilaste.
"Ich thé lende vyf hondred pound: and thu ne ȝolde noȝt on:
"Sete me therof a schort dai: and thu me schalt paye echon."
"Sire," quath Seint Thomas: "God sende ous bet thin ore!
"Inĕ wende not of thulkĕ pans: ȝulde acountes no more.
"For ich haddĕ thulkĕ tyme: betere grace of ynouȝ,
"Of thé, than ich habbĕ nou: and that me thinȝth is wouȝ. 780
"Godĕ grace ich hadde to thé: thu me lovedest ynou tho;
"And thulkĕ pans thu ȝevĕ me: and ȝut thu woldest wel mo.
"Wel ich am therof iknowe: that ich hem feng of thé;
"And of thi ȝiftĕ with gode hurte: for sikere thu ȝave hem me.
"And so heȝ man as thu ert: hit miȝtĕ wel beo stille,
"To axi a thing that thu ȝeve er: with thi godĕ wille."
The King him eschte if eni man: thulkĕ ȝifte isay,
And whar he miȝte the ȝiftĕ prove: "Sire," he seidĕ, "nay."
"Nou lordlings," quath the King: "wel ȝe hureth this.
"Of the gareisoun he is iknowe: that ich him bitok, iwis:
"Ac the ȝifte ne mai he provi noȝt: as ȝe mowe alle iseo. 791

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"Jugement ich axi of this curt: hou hit mai therof beo."
The court him lokede, as he was: iknowĕ of the thinge,
That he schulde al the catel: ȝuldĕ to the Kinge.
The King him het the pans ȝelde: other sikernisse him make;
Other his marschal scholde his bodi: into prisoun take.
Seint Thomas of his bischopriche: hadde wel lutĕ god:
As helples man among his fon: withoute consail he stod.
The marschals iredi were: to prisoun him lede anon:
Hi heten him sikernissĕ fynde: other he scholde with hem gon. 800
This holi man nuste other red: bote suffrede alle here wouȝ.
Somme godĕ men that ther stode: hadde of him ruthe ynouȝ.
Vyf Knyȝtĕs nomĕ hem to rede: and wendĕ to the Kynge;
And nome anhond for Seint Thomas: al that ilkĕ thinge,
Ech of hem an hondred pound: for this holi man to paye.
Tho was he al quyt ynouȝ: as to thulkĕ daye.
Amorwe thanĕ Saterdai: aȝen to court he wende,
Forto hure the Kyngĕs wille: if his hurtĕ wolde amende.
The King sat adoun in his see: Seint Thomas tofore him stod.
"Belami! thu hast," (quath the King): "istole me mochĕ god. 810

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"To longe thu were mi Chanceler: and haddest in thin
honde
"Abbeyes and bischopriches: and the more del of mi
londe;
"And ne ȝulde me none accountes: therof me rueth sore,
"That of thritti thousend pound: thu schalt me and
more.
"Therfore make the ȝare inouȝ anon: thine accountĕs
to ȝulde,
"For siker thu beo, thu schalt hit do: if ich mai thé
welde."
Alle that ihurdĕ this demande: in gret wonder hi
stode there;
And seide among hem ech to other: that hi ne hurde hit
never ere,
And that Seint Thomas was albynethe: and that he
upe the poyntĕ was,
To beo icast in priȝoun: and non other wei ther nas.
Seint Thomas stod in thoȝtĕ longe: of that the King
him hadde ised, 821
And bad he moste him conseilli: and therof nyme his
red.
The Bischopes he nom to consail: the King ne wornde
him noȝt:
In a chambre faste iloke: alle hi were ibrouȝt,
That hi ne scholde ascapie noȝt: er hi respounsĕ sede.
"Nou lordlings," quath Seint Thomas: "herof ȝe
mote me rede.
"For so God bringe me out of care: ynabbe therof
gult non;

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"Ac me to schende he axeth hem: mid unriȝte echon.
"For ich was er mid him wel ynouȝ: and that me bringeth nou in teone;
"Therfore ne tok ich no witnisse: of that ous was bituene." 830
The Bischop Henri of Wynchestre: furst bigan him rede.
"Sire," he seide, "thus me thinȝth: thu miȝt do of this dede.
"Thu miȝt sigge that thulkĕ tyme: that thu were mid the Kynge,
"Ne tho thu wendest of his baillie: he ne axede thé no thinge;
"And thu afonge the bischopriche: so clenĕ and so freo,
"That thu of non other thing: ne scholdest icharged beo;
"And quath thé quit al clenliche: eche other curĕ ther.
"And thé neschte nothing of node: that thu haddest ido er.
"Whar thurf me thinȝth that of nothing: thu ne schalt ansuere noȝt,
"Bote to wardi holi churche: of alle othere thu ert ibroȝt." 840
The Bischop Gilbert of Londone: seide tho his avys.
"Sire," he seide, "if thu theinȝst: as god man and wys,
"What god the King thé hath ido: and to what poër ibroȝt,
"And hou lute god ther wolĕ come: of such wonder thoȝt.

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"And in which wo thu bringest ous alle: and holi churche also,
"And peryl of thyn owĕ bodi: bote thu his willĕ do;
"If thu al this understode: me thencheth, iwis,
"That thu scholdest fondi him to paye: ellĕs thu dost amis."
Tho seide the Bischop of Wircestre: "Sire Gilbert, beo stille!
"We suspendieth such consail: for hit nis noȝt worth a spille." 850
The Bischop Hillari of Chichestre: bigan to spekĕ tho:
"Sire," he seide, "mi consail is: hou so hit evere go,
"In faire manère to fonde: to paye this Kingĕs wille,
"With faire bihestĕ forte eftsone: that hit werĕ stille.
"Thanne we miȝtĕ, whan we were: of this destresce ibroȝt,
"The bet cheve of oure consail: for nou ne do we noȝt."
The Bischop Robert of Lincolne: raddĕ wel therto:
"Sire Archebischop," he seide: "for Gode thu must do so.
"Other thu lust thi bischopriche: other peráventure thi lyf;
"And thannĕ thu biȝetest lute: (me thinȝth) with thi strif." 860
The Bischop Bartholomeu: bigan to sigge his thoȝt:
"In sorwe of the wordle: and care we beoth ibroȝt.
"Betere hit were that on heved: in peryl him broȝte,
"Than holi churche were bynethe: and ibroȝt to noȝte."

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The Bischop Roger of Wircestre: longe in thoȝtĕ stod:
"Inele" he seidĕ "sigge on no other: for ynot what is god.
"If ich rede forto abowe: to the Kyngĕs wille,
"Mi owĕ mouth mi soulĕ demeth: al holi churche to spille.
"Ac if ich rede aȝen him beo: in this place som is,
"That wolĕ telle the Kingĕ fore: and make him mi fo, iwis." 870
Bi the Bischop of Londone: thulkĕ word he sede,
That aȝen Seint Thomas was: mid word and mid dede.
Therfore he seidĕ "on no other: ynellĕ sigge, iwis:
"God consail God ous ȝeve: for al neod hit is."
Hi alle ne couthĕ this consail: bringĕ to god ende;
Ne devise hi miȝtĕ best: out of chambre wende.
Attĕ last this consail al: moste upe Seint Thomas gon:
Tuei Eorlĕs of the Kingĕs hous: he let clipie anon.
"We habbeth," he seide, "lordlings: ispekĕ of this thinge;
"And as furforth as we mowe: we wolleth paye the Kinge. 880
"And for we nabbeth al iredi her: ourĕ consail clene,
"Forte nextĕ dai we biddeth furst: that ȝe granti ous nou ene."
Tho that furst was igranted: and ech wende in his weye,
Meni of Seint Thomas men: levede him for eye;
And Kniȝtes that were ek with him: al framward him drowe.
Seint Thomas nom bi the wei: porĕ men ynowe,

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And ladde hem hom to his in: and to the mete hem sette,
And servede hem his owĕ bodi: and mete ynouȝ hem fette.
"This beoth," he seidĕ "godĕ knyȝtes: other men me habbeth forsake;
"Thusĕ kniȝtes ich lovie more: to hem ich wolĕ take."
The Sonedai there nas no court iholde: for the heȝĕ day: 891
The Monedai Seint Thomas: sorĕ sik lay.
The the uvel of mandeflanc: that oftĕ to him com;
And for the care that he was inne: wel the worse him nom.
Me seide him makede him sek: for he ne therste forth wende:
The King in gret wraththe ynouȝ: after him let sende.
"Wel ȝe seoth," quath Seint Thomas: "that ynemai come noȝt:
"Ac certĕs tomorwe ich wole: hou so ich beo thider ibroȝt.
"Theȝ ich scholde beo thider ibore: in barewe other in bere,
"Thider ich wole, thurf Godĕs grace: God me helpĕ there!" 900
Amorwe thanĕ Tuësdai: oure Louerd him gan arere,
Thane morwe after Seint Lukes dai: as hit ful in the ȝere.
Thulke dai he auȝte understonde: and meni another also;
For bi custùme al his anuy: bi Tuesdai com him to.

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Alle the Bischopes thane Tuësdai: erliche to him wende:
" Sire," hi seide, " in feble poynt thu ert: God thi stat amende!
" We habbeth therof with onĕ mouthe: oure red ynome echon;
" We redeth thé to paye the King: hou so hit evere gon;
" Other we wolleth thé bere anhond: that thu ert his traitour,
" And forswore, whan thu swore: to don him urthlich honur, 910
" And dost him nou a tricherie: as he thé wole bere anhonde,
" And bynyme thi stat bicas: and bringe thé of thi londe."
" Mi leovĕ bretheren," quath Seint Thomas: " ȝe siggeth wel echon,
" That al the wordle gret on me one: and alle beoth mynĕ fon;
" And, that is mest reuthe ȝut of alle: ȝe that myne bretheren beoth,
" And me (theȝ ich sinful beo): ȝoure fadere in turment iseoth,
" And beoth myne mestĕ fon of alle: and also beoth alȝare,
" In seculer court me to deme: and that nele noȝt wel fare.
" For ȝe habbeth among ȝu, this tuei dayes: bispekĕ that ilome. 919
" Nou God helpe holi churche: and nymĕ therto gome!
" Ac in obedience ich ȝu hote: that ȝe ther neȝ ne beo,

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"If ich am ibrouȝt to jugĕment: ac rathere that ȝe fleo.
"And if eni man hond on me set: ich ȝou hote also,
"That ȝe sentence of holi churche: for suche violencĕ do;
"And holdeth up the riȝtes of holi churche: that ȝou beoth bitake,
"For ynĕ schal for no drede of deth: hirĕ riȝtes forsake."
Tho Bischopes were tho wroth ynouȝ: and wende to court echone.
Nou God helpe Seint Thomas: for he was alone!
Bote the Bischop of Wynchestre: ther ne bilevede with him not on,
And the Bischop of Salesbury: that nere fram him agon. 930
Seint Thomas tristĕ al to God: and greithede him anon,
And song a masse of Seinte Stevene: er he com among his fon.
He song oftĕ thulkĕ masse: for, as heo doth bigynne,
The furste office is propre ynou: to the stat that he was inne.
The bigynning of thulkĕ masse: in Anglisch is this,
"For whan princes habbe isete: and aȝé me ispeke, iwis,
"And lithere men pursuede me: Louerd, myn help thu beo!"
Meni seide that this ihurde: herbi me mai iseo,
That he singeth the masse for than one: for the King and for his;

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For he halth hem allĕ lithere men: that azen him spek-
eth, iwis. 940
This word com to court sonė: wher thurf hi were
echon,
In the more angusse azen him: and the more his fon.
And somme of the Kinges conseillers: to him oftĕ wende,
And seidĕ, bote he hulde him stif: al his lond he
schende.
If he grantede Seint Thomas: at thulkĕ tyme his
wille,
His poër in his londĕ were: nevereſt worth a fille;
Bote lete the clergie al iworthe: and holde him silvĕ
stille,
And clerkĕs dizte al his lond: and al his reaume aspille;
And attĕ laste bi here owe wille: maki kinges and
cheose,
And so schulde ech king after him: his franchisĕ leose:
Therfor he moste him wel bithenche: and ne flecchi
nozt. 951
Suchĕ wordes and meni other: apeirede moche his
thozt.
Tho Seint Thomas hadde his masse ido: his cheisible
he gan of weve,
And allĕ thother vestimentz: he let on him bileve.
Other armure nadde he none: for holi churche to
fizte:
God almizti beo his help: bi daye and bi nyzte!
Forth wende this godĕ knizt: among alle his fon:
Nou swete Iësu beo his help: for other help nadde
he non!

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The croice he bar on his hond: and arerde up his banèr:
The Bischop Robert of Herforde: anon wende him ner.
"Sire," he seide, "ich crie thin ore: thi chapeleyn make thu me! 961
"Bifore thé let me bare thi croice: for hit ne falleth noȝt to thé."
"The while ich hire bere," quath Seint Thomas: "and tofore me iseo,
Inĕ doutie of no man: the hardiere ymai beo."
Tho seide the Bischop of Londone: that evere was his fo,
"Inĕ redĕ noȝt that thu: tofore the Kingĕ so go.
"For wraththe he wolde anon: awreke him in the place."
"Ich bitake me," quath Seint Thomas: "al to Godĕs grace."
"ȝe, al thi lyf," quath this other: "a fol thu hast ibeo,
"And that neltou nevère bileve: as me mai nou iseo." 970
Seint Thomas thus, with his croiz: into court gan gon:
Tho he seȝ him comĕ so: he wraththede him anon.
"Lordlings," he seide, "her ȝe seoth: hou this man me schent;
"In whiche manère is he in this court: among ous iwent,
"As ynĕ bileovede noȝt in Cristendom: ne in oure Louerdes name.
"Ne mot ich nede awrekĕ beo: whan he me doth such schame?"

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Tho seidĕ al the court anon: "Sire, ȝe mowe iseo,
"That he is prout and conteckour: and evere hath ibeo.
"And in despyt of thé and thyne: this dede he hath ido;
"And, if thu wolt, thu miȝt beo war: eft to take on so,
"To bringĕ in so gret poër: such on as he is, 981
"To the heȝiste of thi londe: as thu makest him, iwis.
"Therfore we ne bymeneth thé noȝt: for thu noldest beo iwar bifore,
"That we sigge alle bi him: that he is purliche forswore.
"As bi a such man, do bi him: and as bi on of thi fon;
"For he swor thé urthlich onur: and he ne doth thé non."
The bedĕlĕs and other schrewen: on him grenede faste;
And ibide the Kingĕs heste: in prisoun him to caste.
The King let crie anon aboute: if eni so wod were,
That Seint Thomas consaillede: and cumpaignye bere;
Ac as the Kingĕs traïtour: me scholde him nyme anon.
Nou swetĕ Jesus beo his help: among alle his fon! 992
The Bischop of Excestre: to Seint Thomas ful akneo,
"Merci," he seide, "for Godĕs love: for sorewe thu miȝt iseo.
"Have reuthĕ of thé and of ous: other thu wolt ous allĕ schende.
"We wortheth alle ibrouȝt to noȝt: bote thu thi thoȝt wende."
"Sire Bischop," quath Seint Thomas: "thu miȝt as wel beo stille;

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"Go hunnĕs; of thé ne kepe ynoȝt: do ech man his wille."

The Bischops wende to gadere alle: and here consail nome,

And tho he hadde here forme iset: to the Kinge hi come. 1000

"Sire," hi seide, "anuyed thu ert: and ous hit ofthinketh sore:

"Forȝif ous that ȝe ous bereth anhond: and we ne schulle misdo nomore.

"Wel we witeth hit is a wrecche: that scholde oure chief beo:

"Fals he is, and forswore: and that ech man mai iseo.

"For he swor to holde thé urthliche onur: and hath ibroke his oth,

"And that we schullĕ proven wel: ne beo he noȝt so wroth.

"Forȝif ous thi wraththe, we thé biddeth: and to Rome we woleth wende,

"To bynyme him his bischopriche: and as a wrecche him schende.

"Forswore we woleth him provi: sirĕ, bi ȝoure rede."

The King bihet hem gret honur: for do thulkĕ dede.

To Seint Thomas, ther as he was: hi wende alle anon; 1011

The Bischop Hillari of Chichestre: tolde for hem echon.

"Sire," he seide, "oure gostliche fader: thu were her bifore;

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"Ac for fader nou we forsaketh thé: for thu ert fals and forswore.
"For thu swore him urthlich honur: and nelt him do non,
"Therfore to the court of Rome: we biclipieth hit echon."
Nou, swete Iësus, beo his help: whan alle othere were fon!
The King let clipie faste: that he come forth anon.
The Eorl Robert of Leicestre: and othere menion,
Come after him, and hete him sone: bifore the Kingĕ gon. 1020
"Lordlings," quath Seint Thomas: "ȝe witeth wel echon,
"Hou wel ich was w[i]th the Kinge: theȝ ich have nou lither iwon.
"Archebischop he makede me: to sothe, aȝé mi wille:
"For ich draddĕ for unconnynge: mi soulĕ to aspille.
"Tho eschte ich tofore al that folc: in whiche manere hi hit me toke,
"The maistrie of holi churche: to wardi and to loke.
"He me tok holi churche: in eche manère so freo,
"To beo quit of al other court: and mid riȝtĕ scholde so beo.
"And whan holi churche is so freo: ynele answère the Kinge,
"Ne non other of his court: of non urthlich thinge.
"For gold ne passeth noȝt in bounté: so moche leode, iwis,
"As digneté of preösthod: passeth the lewed man that is. 1032

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"And his gostliche fader ich am: if he wolde nymĕ ȝeme;
"And hit nere noȝt that the sone: his fader scholdĕ deme.
"Therfore ich siggĕ, at o word: ynele me nothing take,
"To jugĕment of Kingĕs court: ac outliche hit forsake;
"And take me alto holi churche: and to non other dome,
"And biclipie tofore ȝou alle: to the court of Rome.
"Sauf the stat of holi churche: and mi digneté,
"That Jesu Crist hit sauvi: whan hit ne mai noȝt thurf me. 1040
"And ȝou bischops ich biclipie: to the court of Rome also,
"That ȝe honuryeth more an urthlich king: than ȝe God almiȝti do."
And so thurf riȝt of holi churche: out of this court gan wende,
To bringe this cause of holi churche: tofore the Pope to ende.
This holi man out of this court: wel myldĕliche gan gon,
That King and alle that with him were: wraththede him anon,
With also grete noyse, as al the toun: biset were with here fon;
This holi man him wendĕ forth: as stille as eni ston.

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Hi ne miȝte makie morĕ cri: theȝ al the toun were afure,
Than hi dude upe this holi man: that reuthe hit was to hure. 1050
Nou God beo this holi manĕs help: for he hadde ther lutĕ rewe;
For in al his lyf he hadde: godĕ dawĕs fewe.
Forth him wendĕ Seint Thomas: as him nothing ne roȝte:
For more me schende Iësu Crist: tho me him to dethĕ broȝte.
He weith upe his palefrai: and to his inne wende so:
Unethe he miȝtĕ mid his hond: this threö thingĕs do,
Blesci that folc, and bere his croice: and his bridel wisse.
The simple folc orn him aboute: with joye ynou and blisse.
For hi wende wel he hadde ibeo: at court faste ynome:
Hi herede moche Iësu Crist: that he miȝte among hem come. 1060
To his in, to Seint Andreuës: he suede him faste ynouȝ;
Alle the pore men with him: to the mete he drouȝ;
And seidĕ, "Cometh forth mid me: for minĕ freond ȝe beoth:
"Inabbe non other freond than ȝou: of allĕ men ȝe seoth."
He let hem fedĕ echone wel: ful his hous neȝ,
And him silve the gladdere was: that he ham iseȝ.
As Seint Thomas sat atte mete: theȝ he no wille nadde,

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This word that ourĕ Louerd het: his redere bifore him radde:—
"If me pursueth ȝou in o toun: into another ȝe fleo."
This holi man thoȝte bi him: this word miȝte wel beo:
And that hit was Godĕs wille: into another toun to gon, 1071
Anon as the godspel saith: to fleö alle his fon.
The hardiere he was tho: of londĕ forto wende,
Whan he miȝt ascapie wel: that God wolde the tymĕ sende.
Tho hit was toward eve: tuei serjantz ther come fram the Kinge,
And sorĕ wepinge warnede him that me wolde: to strongĕ dethe him bringe.
For the Kinges men hadde iswore: thurf heste of the Kinge,
Whar so hi miȝtĕ fyndĕ him: to strongĕ dethe him bringe.
Seint Thomas thoȝte another: he let makie his bed aniȝt,
In the heȝĕ churche: bituene tuei wevedes riȝt. 1080
Tho other men were alle aslepe: and noman him nas neȝ.
He ros him up and bihuld: on than ymàge anheȝ.
He ful adoun before the weved: and on oure Louerd gan crie;
And seidĕ furst the set samĕs: and siththe the letanye.
And wepinge ech halewe bad: his help forto beo,
And at ech halwe up aros: and sat siththe adoun akneo.

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Nou Crist in hevene beo his help: for neode he hadde therto ynouȝ!
For him was to cominge sorwe ynouȝ: as ȝe schulle ihure with wouȝ.
Tho he hadde ido his prière: stilliche he gan gon,
Alute bifore the cockĕs crowe: out of the churche anon;
And wende him out of Engĕlonde: that noman with him nas, 1091
Bote o frere of Sympringham: that wel privei with him was.
This gode man fleȝ al Engĕlond: for holi churchĕ riȝte.
For al his wo ne ȝaf he noȝt: if he hit amendĕ myȝte.
The niȝt that fram Norhamptone: Seint Thomas thane wei nom,
To on of his clerkes: in avisioun ther com
A cler voiz, that seide: of the sauter this:*—
"As hit were a sparewe: oure soule ibroȝt is
"Out of the hunteres bonde: and the bond is undo,
"And al defouled, and we: beoth delyvred so." 1100
Of wham was this avisioun: bote of Seint Thomas,
That out of the bendes of his fon: tho delyvred was?
That word com of Seint Thomas: to the Kingĕ sone:
The heȝĕ men nome therof red: what hem were to done.
The King and al his Baronie: and his Bischops echon,

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* "Anima nostra sicut passer erepta est de laqueo venantium. Laqueus contritus est et nos liberati sumus."—(*Psalm* cxxiv.) This Latin quotation is in the margin of the Harleian MS.

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That auȝtĕ with Seint Thomas beo: and were mest his fon,
To his consail everechone: assentede attan ende,
That the King scholde of his heȝiste men: to the court of Romĕ sende,
Aȝen him whan he thider com: and the Pope do understonde,
That he is fals and forswore: and desturbour of the londe 1110
And to do this gretĕ neode: the wiseste men forth nome,
And that the King were al in pees: forte he aȝé come.
The Archebischop of Everwyk: and the Bischop of Excestre,
To Romĕ wende for thissĕ neode: and the Bischop of Cicestre.
The Bischop ek of Londone: and of Wircestre also,
And gretĕ Eorlĕs and Barouns: and clerkĕs therto,
To bere witnisse of this falshede: whan hi to courtĕ come.
Noble ȝiftĕs and gewels: mid hem also hi nome:
For therwith me mai ofte at court: the riȝtĕ bringe to wouȝ. 1119
Nou Crist helpe this porĕ man: for he was pore ynouȝ!
None ȝiftĕs he nadde to ȝyve: to holdĕ up his riȝte:
Fram Norhamptonĕ bar he ȝeode: for holi churche to fiȝte.
Fram Seint Andreues in Norhamptone: this holi man forth wende,
With a frere of Simpringham: as oure Louerd the gracĕ sende.

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Vyf and tuenti mile he wende: to the toun of Gra[nt]-
ham,
Er he stintĕ meni stede: with the frere of Simpringham.
Al northward he drouȝ him forth: and framward the
see,
That the Kinges men ne founde him noȝt: to nymĕ ne
to sle.
Siththe he wendĕ fram Gra[nt]ham: fyve and tuenti
myle also, 1129
To the cité of Lincolne: er he wolde him to restĕ do.
The morwe upe Seint Lukĕs dai: Tuësdai hit was tho,
He departede fram the Kingĕs court: in suchĕ sorwe
and wo.
Thanĕ Wendesdai aniȝt: out of the toun he nom;
Sone amorwe thane Thursdai: to Lincolne he com.
At a walkeres hous: his in he nom there;
Alle gate he nom his wei: bi niȝte that he awaited nere.
In watere he dude him at Lincolne: er God thane dai
sende;
And thanĕ Fridai fourti myle: al bi water he wende,
To an hermitage of Simpringham: that amidde the
watere is:
Ther he levede hardiliche: threö dayes, iwis. 1140
To Seint Botolf siththe he wende: that thannĕs was
ten myle;
And ther he dude him eft in watere: and com, in a
lute while,
To the hous of Haverolt: that of Simpringham ek is.
The frere him ladde bi thulkĕ hous: the sikerer to beo,
iwis.

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Therhanne he wende to Eystrie: his owe manère mid ri3te,
The Archebischop of Canterbury: if he were of mi3te;
That was ne3 the see ynou3: he abod wel there;
Lokede forto passi: whan best tymĕ were.
Soveni3t he bilevede ther: forto Allĕ Soulen day,
In chambre ri3t bi the churche: dai and ni3t he lay;
That noman ne scholde him under3ete: ne war of him beo. 1151
Thurf the churche wal he makede an hol: the sacringe forto seo;
And forto hurĕ ther his masse: that hi, that to churchĕ come,
Nuste no3t that he was so ne3: ne toke therof no gome.
Such an anker he was bicome: Louerd, that him was wo,
Archebischop of Canterbury: that ne therste among none men go!
An Alle Soulen dai, thane Tuësdai: er God thane dai sende,
He bitok God al holi churche: and into the see wende.
Hi rewe forth al thanĕ dai: forte a3en theveninge,
A myle hi aryvede: fram the havene of Graveninge.
Oye me clipeth the stede: as he com to londe, 1161
In the lond of Flandres: as ich understonde.
Forth he moste, this holi man: hors nadde he non;
For al his bischopriche: afote he mostĕ gon.
And that noman him ne knewe: thabit of frere he nom,
And as a frere forth he 3eode: tho he to Flandres com.

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Blak was his cope above: his curtel whit blanket;
Upe his rug his cope he bar: forto go the bet.
The reyn was gret and swithĕ strong: the wei was deope ynouȝ:
So weri was this holi man: that unethe his lymes he drouȝ. 1170
So weri he was of the wei: and of the see bifore,
That he sat adoun and ne miȝte no fur: bote he were ibore.
Tho ȝeodĕ forth on of his men: and hurede him a mure,
For an Englisch peni, with an halter: this holi man to bere.
This holi man his clothĕs nom: and upe this mure hem caste,
And werth upe above his clothes: and rod forth wel faste.
A! weilawai! such a man: moche is Godĕs miȝte!
So febliche wendĕ over lond: for uvele was hit his riȝte.
Uvele bicom him to gon afote: other upe a suche best to ride. 1179
Holi churche he aboutĕ dure: that me tiȝth on wide.
With this haltere upe this mure: forth rod this holi man,
As a frere, and let him clipen: frerĕ Cristian.
For he noldĕ liĕ noȝt: Cristenĕ he was;
And he was adrad to beon iknowe: if me clipede him Thomas.
At a god manĕs hous: his in a niȝt he nom,
He sat attĕ bordĕs ende: as him noȝt wel bicom;

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And his men sete alle withinne: as he the loweste were:
The oste nom wel gode ȝeme: hou hi hem alle bere.
He nom ȝeme of this holi man: attĕ bordĕs ende,
Hou mylde he was attĕ borde: and curteys and hende.
Hou curteisliche he delde his mete: to hem that tofore him stode, 1191
And hou lute him silf he at: mid wel simple mode.
His lymĕs also he bihuld: hou gent hi were and freo;
Honden faire, with longĕ fyngres: fairere ne miȝte none beo.
His facĕ long and brod also: his frount large ynouȝ;
And bifore alle thothere evere to him: his hurte mest drouȝ.
Of tharchebischop of Canterbury: he gan him understonde,
That hit was couth into al that lond: that he was iwend of londe.
His hurte him ȝaf that hit was he: in gret studie he was ibroȝt;
He rounede in his wyvĕs ere: and tolde hire al his thoȝt. 1200
His wyf, after thulkĕ tyme: that sothe also thoȝte,
Heo servede this holi man: and of deyntés him broȝte.
Applen, peres, and notĕs ek: heo fondede in eche manère,
Among alle this other men: to gladie this seli frere.
Heo bilevede to servi othere: and upe him was al hire thoȝt;
Seint Thomas hit underȝet: and ne paidĕ him with noȝt.

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So that he bihuld aboute: anon after sopèr.
Wel myldĕliche he bad his hoste: forto com him ner,
And to sitte bi him adoun: and soláci him astounde.
" Sire, merci!" quath this other: "ich wole sittĕ upe the grounde." 1210
He sat adoun at his fet: Seint Thomas him bad arise:
" Certĕs, sire," quath this other: yneschal in nonĕ wise.
" Nolde God that ich bi thé sete: Louerd! ihered thu beo,
" That thu mostest in myne housĕ come: and ich thane dai iseo."
" Lute deynté," quath Seint Thomas: "of such a porĕ man,
" A seli frere as ich am: ihotĕ Cristian."
" Sire, thin ore," quath this other: "wel ich understonde,
" Archebischop thu ert of Canterbure: iwend out of Engĕlonde."
" Whi saistou so?" quath this other: "thu hast selde iseȝe,
" Tharchebischop of Canterbury: in suche manere ride bi weye." 1220
" Sire," quath this other, "thu hit ert: as me saith mi thoȝt,
" Ich bidde thé for the love of God: ne forsak hit aȝé me noȝt."
Seint Thomas him bithoȝte: that other he moste lie,
Other beo iknowe that he hit was: so thother on him gan crie.

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Attĕ laste he was iknowe: ac amorwe he nom
His hoste, and bad that he ne wreide him noȝt: er he afur wei com.
He wende him forth wel er dai: in wel foulĕ weye;
Tuelf myle he ȝeode grete ynouȝ: to a grei abbeye,
That me clipeth Clermareys: of greye monekes, iwis,
That biside the castel: of Seint Omer is. 1230
To thabbey of Seint Bertin: fram thannĕ he wende,
And ther he levede til oure Louerd: other tithinge him sende.
The Bischops of Engĕlonde: and the Barouns also,
Toward the court of Romĕ wende: her erande for to do.
To the King of France hi wende: and lettres with hem bere,
Fram the King of Engĕlonde: that thus an Englisch were:—
"To his louerd, thurf Godĕs grace: Sire Lowes the King,
"Henri King of Engĕlonde: sent love and greting.
"Thomas that Archĕbischop was: of Canterbure herbifore,
"Out of mi lond is awend: as traytour and forswore.
"Therfore, as myn urlich louerd: ich bidde thé, bi mi sonde, 1241
"That thu ne suffri noȝt that he beo: receited in thi londe."
Tho this King this bone ihurde: awhile in thoȝte he stod;
"Certĕs," he hem seide, "me thinȝth: this bonĕ nis noȝt god.

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"So strong theof nis non in Engĕlond: if he into Francĕ come,
"That he ne miȝtĕ levĕ ther: as me siȝth ilome.
"Nere he iproved so strong theof: other hadde that lond forswore,
"Ic ne miȝte do hit for no thing: theȝ he him haddĕ ther misbore.
"And whatlokere scholde such an heȝ man: ne come he noȝt so sone,
"And nother ich ne he habbeth: with oure bischops to done. 1250
"For myne bischops with holi churche: ich lete here willĕ do,
"And fairere were the King, me thinȝth: lete him iworthĕ so,
"Than entremitti of holi churche: here riȝtĕs forto spille,
"And loki the pees of the lond: me thinȝth he doth his wille."
Ne miȝte this heȝĕ men: non other word afonge;
So that hi wendĕ forth here wei: tho hi hadde abidĕ longe.
Maister Herbad of Bozam: and othere siththĕ wende,
To the King of France: as Seint Thomas hem sende;
And tolde the King of al the wo: that Seint Thomas hadde with wouȝ.
The King tho he hurdĕ this: wep and makede deol ynouȝ; 1260
And tolde al hou the Kingĕs men: were at him bifore,
And which answere he hem ȝaf: here wei hi hadde forlore.

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This godĕ man with joye ynouȝ: here levĕ of him nome,
And fram him myldĕlichĕ wende: to the court of Rome.
For ther nere hi noȝt wolcome: for the schame bifore,
And the desclandre of Seint Thomas: that he was fals and forswore.
Ac nathĕlès grace hi hadde: that hi to the Pop come miȝte.
Him silve hi tolde in priveité: al Seint Thomas wo with unriȝte;
Of the statutz of Clarendone: hou hi forth furst come;
Hou he was ibroȝt to Noramptone: tofore the King to done; 1270
Hou he wende out of Engĕlonde: in which miseise and wo;
And hou he changede his name: the sikerer forto go.
The Pope bigan to sikĕ sore: mid wel dreori thoȝt,
The terĕs urne out of his eȝen: he ne miȝte hem wernĕ noȝt.
He thonkede God that such prelat: under him miȝtĕ beo,
So stedĕfast to holi churche: and that he miȝte thane dai iseo.
Amorwe come the Bischops: and the Barouns also,
To procuri him al the wele: that hi miȝtĕ do.
Tofore the Pope as he sat: myldĕliche hi come,
And bifore the Cardinals: attĕ curt of Rome.
The Bischop of Londone: that evere lither was,
Bigan furst to telle his tale: aȝé Seint Thomas. 1280
He stod up tofore al the court: "Beau pere," he sede,

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"To thé we come to mene ous: of wrecchede that we doth lede,
"Ourĕ riȝtĕs up to holde: alle that godĕ beoth,
"And folĕs bringĕ of folie: whan we eni iseoth.
"A distance ther is ispronge: liȝtliche in Engĕlonde,
"That desturbeth al that lond: with unriȝt, ich understonde.
"Tharchebischop of Canterbure: al aȝen oure wille,
"A folie bigan in Engĕlonde: al holi churche to spille:
"To bynyme the Kingĕs franchise: and his riȝtes also;
"Ac he ne miȝte ous makĕ for nothing: consenti therto.
"Therfore for wraththĕ siththe: for we nolde his willĕ do, 1291
"Upe ous he caste his owĕ gult: and upe the King also;
"And attĕ lastĕ, as hit were: the lond forto ablende,
"That no man him strenȝthĕ dude: of lond he gan wende.
"For men that that sothĕ nuste: scholdĕ understonde,
"That the King him dude unriȝt: and drof him out of londe."
Tho he hadde his tale itold: and ymaked al his wise,
He sat adoun and the Bischop: of Cicestre gan arise.
"Beau pere," he seidĕ to the Pope: "me thinȝth hit falth to thé,
"To desturbi thing that falleth: to harm of communeauté; 1300
"That o man ne beo isuffred noȝt: go forth with his wille,

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"To bringĕ al the lond to schindisse: and holi churche to spille.
"That hath oure Archebischop iwroȝt: that is isene, iwis,
"Whan ech man of the lond: faste aȝen him is."
The Archebischop of Everwyk: tho he his tyme iseȝ,
Aros up and gan to telle: his talĕ, al anheȝ.
"Sire," he seide, "no man ne knoweth: so wel as ich do,
"Tharchebischop of Canterbure: and tharchebischoprichе also.
"The Archebischop is wilful: and whan he is alles ibroȝt
"In a wil that is lute worth: he nele bileve hit noȝt.
"For man ne schal for nothing: bringe him out of his thoȝt: 1311
"In suchĕ fol wille is he nou: that we habbeth deore aboȝt.
"Liȝtliche therinne he com: and he nele bileve nevere mo,
"Bote ȝe pulte ȝoure hond therto: to bringe ous out of wo."
"Sire, sire," quath the Bischop: of Excestre tho,
"This cas ȝe mote amendi: hou so hit evere go.
"If ȝe ne loeveth noȝt that sothe: as me doth ȝou to understonde,
"Send with ous, fot with fot: a legat into Engĕlonde,
"To enqueri that sothĕ ther: and let him therafter wīrche.
"For certĕs, bote ȝe other thenche: ȝe schendeth holi churche." 1320

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Tho aros up the Eorl of Arondel: man of gret digneté,
"Sire," he seide, "for Godĕs love: astounde herkne to me.
"We lewede men that herĕ beoth: ne cunnĕ Latyn non,
"Ne nothing nabbeth understonde: that ȝe habbeth itold echon.
"Ac in langágĕ that we cunne: such men as we beoth,
"(Heȝe Barouns and noble Knyȝtes: that ȝe bifor ȝou iseoth,)
"Telle ich wole bifore ȝou alle: whi we beoth hider iwend,
"Thurf mi louerd the Kinges heste: that ous hath isend.
"Noȝt that we wraththi eni man: other eni man sigge amis,
"And nameliche ourĕ alre hevede: that oure chiëf is,
"To wham al the wordle aboueth: (God holdĕ him his miȝte,) 1331
"That auȝte ech man ȝurnĕ bidde: to holde ech man to riȝte.
"Ac suchĕ knyȝtĕs as we beoth: hider we beoth iwend;
"Oure louerd the King of Engĕlonde: hider ous haveth isend,
"To schewĕ furst the reverence: and the grete love also,
"That he hath evere to ȝou ibore: and evere thenȝth to do;

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"And that ȝe sende him word bi ous: as ȝe seoth ous stonde,
"Bischopes, Eorlĕs, and Barouns: the heȝiste of his londe.
"If eni heȝere hadde ibeo: hider he hadde iwend,
"As to so heȝ curt as this is: hider ous he hath isend, 1340
"To schewi furst in his name: as wide as the wordle is,
"So true princĕ nis to Rome: ne that so moche ȝou loveth, iwis;
"Ne so moche honureth holi churche: and evere hath ido.
"Tharchebischop of Canterbure: is noble man also.
"That if o manère of him: as ich understonde,
"Ther nerĕ lond of Cristendom: aȝen Engĕlonde,
"Ne holi churche so wel: ischuld from echĕ wouȝ,
"Under swithĕ noble prince: and prelat god ynouȝ.
"Ac the Archebischop Thomas: hath a lutĕ wille,
"To apeiri moche his godnisse: and that lond thenȝ[th] aspille. 1350
"His wille is such, that whan he is: icomĕ in fol thoȝt,
"He nele thurf consail ne thurf red: therof beo ibroȝt.
"In suchĕ folie he is icomĕ nouthe: (oure Louerd his thoȝt wende!)
"Bote me mowe him therof bringe: that lond he wole aschende.
"Therfore mi louerd the King ȝou bit: that ȝe with ous sende,
"A legat to Engĕlonde: to enquere therof than ende.

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"Other certĕs he is upe the poynte: al that lond to spille,
"Bote ȝe chasti him thurf lawe: and bynyme his folĕ wille."
Off alle the clerkĕs that ther sete: non of hem ther nas,
That ne preisede moche this heȝĕ man: for he so renable was. 1360
"Lordlings," quath the Pope: "ȝe iseoth wel ynouȝ,
"That ȝe to tharchebischop telleth: beo hit riȝt other wouȝ.
"Ac we ne mowe no dom ȝyve: both he himsilf her were,
"Ne juggi no man bihyndĕ him: for no riȝt hit nere."
"Sire," quath th[e] Eorl of Arondel: "ȝe mote bet understonde:
"A certeyn dai ous is iset: to come to Engĕlonde;
"And thane dai nethore we noȝt breke: for oure louerd the Kinge;
"Therfore ȝe mote ous gracĕ do: somdel of thissĕ thinge.
"We biddeth ȝou, if hit is ȝoure wille: a legat with ous sende,
"And tharchĕbischop hote also: to Engĕlondĕ wende
"And as the legat ther enquereth: therafter he mai do." 1371
"Certĕs, beau frere," quath the Pope: "ynele noȝt take on so.
"Inot whan tharchĕbischop cometh: ne what he wole forth drawe;

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"And to deme a man bihynden him: thu wost hit nere no lawe."
"Certĕs, sire," quath this other: "we nethore abidĕ noȝt."
"Deperdeus," quath the Pope: "doth as ȝe habbeth ithoȝt."
This othere werĕ wroth ynou: wel faire here leve hi nome,
And wende hem forth in gretĕ wraththe: and to Engĕlondĕ come.
Seint Thomas was tho in Flandres. in huding, as hit were,
In the hous of Seint Bertin: for he him abussede there. 1380
Attĕ laste he aros bi nyȝte: and out of Flandres wende,
Al priveilichĕ into France: as God the gracĕ sende.
The King of Francĕ that tho was: Lowis, god and hende,
Hurde telle of this gode man: he let after him sende.
Tho [t]his holi man to him com: gret joye he gan make;
He het him upon his lond: ynouȝ of his take,
To spene, to him and allĕ his: whar so he evere come.
Nolde Seint Thomas abidĕ noȝt: er he com to Rome.
The King him tok spense ynouȝ: to him and allĕ his,
And sendĕ with him god condut: to bringe him ther, iwis. 1390
Tho this gode man to Romĕ com: he was faire underfonge;
And somdel the Popĕ was anuyed: that he abod so longe.

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Me acusede him of the trespàs: that the Bischops toldĕ there,
And bad him answere for his stat: and aleggi for him hou hit were.
Seint Thomas woldĕ up arise: me bad him sitte adoun;
Biside the Pope he sat: and seidĕ his reisoun.
"Sire," he seide, "ich am iset: theȝ ich unworthi beo,
"To wardi the churche of Canterbury: as ȝe mowe iseo.
"And theȝ ich ne beo noȝt worthi: such fol nam ynoȝt,
"That the King scholde thurf me: in wraththĕ beon ibroȝt. 1400
"For if ich wolde his willĕ do: and paye him of alle thinge,
"Ine ne scholde for noȝt: in such contek him bringe;
"He me wolde lovie ynouȝ: and al his lond, iwis,
"Scholde at mi willĕ beo: and alle thing that is his.
"Ac mi professioun ich habbe: to Jesu Crist ido;
"And the biheste that ich habbe ymaked: ne suffreth me noȝt so.
"And if ich wolde bileve: ynaddĕ nonĕ neode,
"To no man to go ous bituene: myn erande forto beode.
"Ac the churche of Canterbure: was iwoned to schynĕ wide,
"And beo as the sonne among alle othere: of the west side. 1410
"The sonne that was so briȝt: deork heo is bicome;

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"Blodĕ clouden and stronge ynou: hire liȝt hire habbeth binome.

"Overcast heo is with the clouden: that liȝt ne ȝifth heo non;

"Whar thurf the churchen of Engĕlonde: idurked beoth echon.

"For a cloude hire had overcast: that heo ne mai noȝt liȝte:

"The King that scholde hire governy: bynymeth al hire riȝte.

"Ich that scholde hire wardeyn beo: theraȝen ich mot fiȝte,

"And stonde aȝé and withsigge hire wrong: bi al mynĕ miȝte.

"For theȝ ich hadde a thousend lyves: (as ynabbe bote on,)

"Rathere than ich woldĕ tholie: ȝyve ich hem wolde echon. 1420

"The custumes aȝé holi churche: that the King hath forth ibroȝt,

"Her ȝe mowe hem nou ihure: if hi beoth to granti oȝt."

He gan hem rede the lithere lawes: as he hem hadde iwrite;

He wep that the teres urne adoun: that deole hit was to wite.

Tho the Pope and his Cardinals: that seȝe him wepe so sore,

And ihurde ek this lithere lawes: hi ne miȝte forbere nomore;

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And wope also pitousliche: and heredc God also,
That hi miȝte finde such a prelat: over holi churche ido,
That huld hire so wel to riȝte: and ne suffredĕ ne wouȝ;
And thonkede God of such a man: and honurede him ynouȝ. 1430
The Pope het his clerkĕs alle: thurf al Cristendom,
Withsiggĕ suchĕ lithere lawes: whar so eni of hem com;
And that hi nere isuffred nowhar: hou so hi come to ende,
And that hi deide rathere therfore; than holi churche lete schende.
Tho spac him eft Seint Thomas: wepingĕ wel sore,
" Inabbĕ noȝt so mochĕ wo: that me nere worthĕ more.
" For thurf strenȝthe of urthlich man: in such poër am ich ido,
" Ac ich douti aȝen Godĕs wille: that ich unworthi beo therto.
" Therfore God, for riȝtĕ wreche: uvel ending me doth sende;
" Ac ich douti for mi wrecchĕ gult: that wors schal beo the ende, 1440
" For mi synne and mi unmiȝte: that ynemai hire wardi noȝt.
" Therfore, that holi churche: ne beo to grounde ibroȝt,
" Ich ȝyve ȝou up mi bischopriche: another ȝe mote ther do,
" That hit mowe wardi bet: for unworthi ich am therto."

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His ring he nom and tok the Pope: and ȝuld up the bischopriche.
The Pope wel deolfulliche: and wel myldĕliche gan siche.
Therof conseillede al the court: what the beste red were,
To lete him leve therchebischopriche: other to do another there.
"Me thinȝth," quath a Cardinal: "in such cas as this man is,
"Betere hit were to do another: in his stede, iwis,[1450]
"Forto payë bet the King: and such cas miȝte bifalle,
"That the King wolde bileve and aswagi: the lithere lawĕs alle.
'For betere hit were, in faire manère: ho so hit miȝte, to endĕ bringe,
"Than contek holde in suchĕ lond: and nameliche aé the Kinge.
"And me miȝte purveye the godĕ man: as god as that is.
"Inot what conseil ȝe wolleth rede: ich wole redĕ this."
Tho seide another Cardinal: "yne rede noȝt so, iwis;
"For that wolde ȝyvĕ men ensample: aldai to do amis.
"For whan a king with a bischop: were wroth of eni thinge,
"Anon to bringĕ him adoun: uvele lawĕs woldĕ bringe;
"And so were holi churchĕ theu: that levedi scholde beo. 1461
"Therfore this consail (me thinȝth) is feble: a bett[e]re me mai iseo."

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The Pop nom tho Seint Thomas: and tok him aȝé the ring,
To beo Archĕbischop forth: stable thurf alle thing;
Steděfast to holdĕ up: holi churchĕ riȝte,
And he him wolde aȝen ech man: helpĕ bi his miȝte;
And he ne scholdĕ noȝt the ȝut: to Engĕlondĕ wende,
Ac abidĕ betere grace; if God woldĕ sende.
To thabbei of Pontenay: to sojourni there,
He sente this holi man: forte hit betere were. 1470
With lutel folc, and lutel ese: ther he gan to leve;
For he nadde silver non to spene: bote as hi him ȝeve.
His men he brouȝtĕ in servise: here mete to wynnĕ there,
Him silve he was alonĕ neȝ: heȝ man theȝ he were.
Lyf he werede hard ynouȝ: he werede hardĕ here,
Schurte and brech hard ynouȝ: harderĕ non nere.
The straples were istreynd harde ynouȝ: with knottĕs also,
The schurte tilde anon to his thies: the brech to his to.
The knotten wodĕ in his flesche: aboute in echĕ side:
Wel unesĕ was his brech: aboutĕ for to ride. 1480
Hardĕ miȝte he ligge adoun: and hardĕ sitte also.
Louerd! deore abouȝte he hevene: wel auȝte he come therto!
The Bischops of Engĕlonde: that aȝen him were at Rome,
And Eorles and othere ek: tho hi to Engelond come,
Hi tolde the King al the cas: hou hi hadde isped.
So sori and wroth the King was: that he was neȝ ăwed.

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"Allas," he seidĕ, "thulke traitoure: that ich habbe forth ibroȝt!
"That he me schal such schamĕ do: ynemai hit tholie noȝt.
"Whan he fliȝth out of londe: that ynemai to him come,
"Ich wole me awrekĕ of his kyn: hi schulle abuggĕ some." 1490
He let siche out al clene his freond: and his kyn echon,
And drof hem out of Engĕlond: that hi ne bilevede noȝt on;
Sik ne feble, ȝung ne old: ne wymmen mid chylde,
Ne chyldrene that sokinge were: moche he was unmylde.
In armes the moder bar the child: in herĕ wombĕ some:
Ther hadde the King (me thinȝth): a feble wreche ynome.
Ihauled hi were, in grete meseise: out of the lond, allas!
Ech god man hadde reuthe of hem: that ihurdĕ of that cas.
Among hem hi seide stillĕliche: that he lither King was.
More schrewede the King bithoȝte: ȝut of Seint Thomas. 1500
The men that he drof of londe: were hem leof other loth,
He make hem swerie upon a boc: ech after other, an oth;

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That hi ne scholde in nonĕ stede: levĕ, nonĕ stounde,
Er hi come to Seint Tbomas: ther as hi him founde,
And toldĕ him hou hi were: out of londe ibroȝt,
To bringe him more in sorewe: if hi miȝte turne his thoȝt.
ȝut he brouȝte a lither dedĕ more: upĕ Seint Thomas;
He let hote, thurf al the lond: as wide as his poër was,
That no man ne scholdĕ for him bidde: in churche ne ellĕswhare;
As me for tharchĕbischop doth: and ido hath ȝare. 1510
Louerd! moche was the schamĕ tho: that holi church bitidde,
Whan heo ne mostĕ for hire heved: among other men bidde!
That folc of Seint Thomas freond: thicke aboute him drouȝ,
Aldai that were iflemmid for him: in meseise and sorwe ynouȝ;
And wope and cridĕ dulfulliche: and tolde him al that cas,
Hou hi werĕ fram him dryve: and which here sorwe was.
Seint Thomas bihuld hem dulfulliche: and gan to sikĕ sore;
Nathelès he makede hem fair semblant: to conforti hem the more;
And sende this word to gladi hem: that men unde[r]-stondeth longe, 1519
"Echĕ lond," he seide: "is contray to the stronge.
"As ho saith, theȝ ȝe beo: in strange contray ibroȝt,

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"If ȝe beoth strong in Godĕs lawe: hit ne schal ȝou grevi noȝt."
Alle the heȝe men of the lond: that ihurde that cas,
Acursedĕ the King, and seide: that he lither was.
This seli men aboute him nome: for love of Seint Thomas,
And fonde hem sustenance ynouȝ: in meseise non ther nas.
Tho the tithinge to the King: of Engĕlondĕ com,
That this men were underfonge: gret deol to him he nom.
"Certĕs," he seide, "whan ynemai: his hurtĕ so buye,
"In more meseise· ich wole him bringe: that his lyf him schal anuye." 1530
Greye monĕkĕs of Cisteaus: fram ȝere to ȝere,
A chapitle makede general: of Abbotes that ther were;
For monĕkĕs of ech grei abbei: to this chapitle come,
Withinne a termĕ, as ȝut doth: thurfout al Cristendome.
Tho the chapitle plener was: the Kyng thider sende,
To thabbotes plenerliche: that to the chapitle wende;
And sende him word that him thoȝte: wonder gret ynouȝ,
That hi wolde him so moche misdo: uncundĕliche and wouȝ,
To susteyne his withere wyne: among hem, and his fo,
In the hous of Ponteney: that brouȝte him in such wo;
And bote hi him levede: and susteynede him nomore,
Alle the greye hous of Engĕlonde: ofthenchĕ scholdĕ sore: 1542
For if hi susteynede his fo: no wonder hit nere,

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Thez he wreke him of thulkĕ hous: that in his lond were.
Tho this lettres to Sisteaus: among this Abbotes come,
Of the thretinge hi doutede sore: and gret consail nome;
So that hi bedĕ Seint Thomas: his bestĕ forto do;
For hi ne therste, azé the Kingĕs wille: nomorĕ holde him so.
Tho Seint Thomas this ihurde: he gan to sikĕ sore:
He bad Jesus him helpĕ tho: and cride him milce and ore. 1550
"Lordlings," he seide, "that me habbeth: susteyned meni o dai,
"In mi grete neode, Jesu Crist: hit zuldĕ; ynemai.
"The King that threteth zou so faste: if ze me holdeth longe,
"If Crist wole, ze ne schulle for me: nevere harm afonge.
"Whar so ich evere an urthĕ beo: fram zou I wolĕ wende,
"That ze ne beo for me apeired: oure Louerd his grace me sende!
"For ich mai zut mi metĕ bidde: ynam nozt to god therto:
"God that fedeth the wyldĕ best: me mai fede also.
"Ac hou hit evere bi me bifalle: God, if hit is thi wille,
"Hold up the rizt of holi churche: that heo fulliche ne spille!" 1560

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As this holi man in thoȝtĕ stod: whoder he miȝtĕ wende,
The King of France, that was so god: sone gan his word sende,
That he bilevede in al his lond: whar so his hurte best drouȝ,
Cheose him silvĕ, and he wolde: him sendĕ spounse ynouȝ.
Ther hit soth whan a man: in mest sorwe is and teone,
Thanne is oure Louerdes help wel neȝ: as hit tho isene.
This holi man his levĕ nom: wel myldĕliche and softe,
And sorĕ wepinge wendĕ forth: and ȝoxede and siȝtĕ ofte.
The Abbot of Pontenay: somdel forth him brouȝte;
He axede of him whi he were: in so deolful thoȝte.
"Ich wolĕ sigge," quath Seint Thomas: "whi ich carie so, 1571
"That thu ne tellĕ non fore: er myn endedai beo ido.
"Ich am siker that ich schal: [deye] in martirdom:
"For to niȝt in mi sleping: a wonder meting me com.
"In the churche of Canterbure: me thoȝte ich stod, iwis,
"And strivede for holi churche: aȝen the King and his.
"Tho come ther four kniȝtes: and smyte me upe the croune,
"Ech after other, that mi brayn: schadde on the grounde adoune.
"For me ich thonki Jesu Crist: that ich schal deyĕ so;

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"Ac for mi meynĕ ich sikĕ sore: that ynot what ich schal do." 1580
This holi man him wendĕ forth: with care and deol bi weye,
Forto he com to Seneouns: tuelf myle fram Ponteneye.
Ther he levede in sojourn: as longĕ as he wolde:
The King him fond to spene ynouȝ: of silver and of golde.
This holi man levede ther: in pays and rest ynouȝ;
Ac evere he carede for holi churche: that me dude so wouȝ,
And sende to the King of Engĕlond: that he lete beo stille,
That he ne werrede noȝt holi churche: if hit were his wille.
Siththe the King of Engĕlond: as his wille him nom,
Passede the see, as God hit wolde: and into Francĕ com.
The King of Francĕ was aboute: (if God wold the gracĕ sende,) 1591
To acordi him and Seint Thomas: if he hit miȝte bringe to ende;
So that hi were togadere ibroȝt: to a dai that hi sette.
Seint Thomas com tofore the King: and as his louerd him grette;
And to his fet ful adoun: and wep and cridĕ sore,
"Have reuthe," he seide, "of holi churche: and ne werrĕ hire nomore,
"And ich wole do al thi wille: as ich seide er, bi mi miȝte,
"Saf mi Louerdes honúr: and holi churchĕ riȝte."

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The King makede him wroth ynouȝ for that worth; as he hadde ofte ibeo,
" Nou ȝe mowe," he seide, " echone: his falshede iseo.
" For ynescholde, upe this word, do: nothing aȝen his wille, 1601
" That he ne scholde sigge that ich wolde: holi churche aspille;
" And that ich were aȝen Godes wille: and in suche man re he miȝte,
" The lond desturbi, and bynyme: mi franchise and mi riȝte.
" Gode bischops ther habbeth ibeo: bifore, ȝe wite, iwis:
" That ȝe seo mi trunisse: and that the wrong is al his.
" As the wyseste and the beste bischops: that bifore him were,
" Aȝen the mestĕ fol King: biforĕ me hem bere,
" Do he so aȝé me: and ich paye me wel ynouȝ;
" And if he is aȝé this forme: me thinȝth he haveȝ wouȝ.
" Other him thinȝth, of bischops: so wys as he non nas;
" Other he halth me the mestĕ wrecche: that evere bifore this was." 1612
Tho seide the King of France: and all that hurdĕ this,
" Certĕs thu beodest him love ynou: the wrong is al his."
Seint Thomas stod longe in thoȝte: and gan to sikĕ sore,
" Theȝ ich have ibeo in anuy: ȝut me is to comĕ more.
" If the archĕbischops bifore me: haddo ido here miȝte,
" Hit nadde ibeo no neod nou: to contecki ne to fiȝte.

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"For er this, hi were stable ynouȝ: bi godĕ manĕs siȝte,
"And custumes ne beoth to holdĕ noȝt: if hi beoth aȝé riȝte. 1620
"And for the bischopes were to nesche: bifore me, as ich hit fynde,
"Here folie ich mot nou abigge: other hit worth bihynde.
"Ich wot wel ther habbeth ibeo bifore: custumes in Engĕlonde,
"Ac aȝen riȝte hi beoth: as ich understonde.
"Theȝ hi longe isuffred beo: and to custumĕs idrawe,
"Ther ne mai no man to sothĕ sigge; that hit beo riȝt ne lawe.
"For oure Louerd loveth soth and riȝtnisse: and uvele custumes riȝt noȝt, iwis;
"And that he scheweth bi a word: that in the godspel is:
"For oure Louerd him silf him eveneth: to sothnissĕ there,
"Ac he ne eveneth him nowhar to custumĕs: for aȝé riȝt hit were. 1630
"Therfore me thinȝth that hit is riȝt: that we to sothnisse drawe,
"And uvele custumĕs desturbi: that beoth aȝé lawe.
"Therfore ynele none custumĕs: suffri, bi mi miȝte,
"That aȝen sothnisse beoth: and holi churchĕ riȝte.
"Her me mai iseo that none uvele lawes: no god man ne schal afonge,
"Ac desturbi bi al his miȝte: theȝ hi beo holdĕ longe.

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"For he that susteneth uvele lawes: as wel he haveth the sinne,
"Bote if he hem alegge, if he mai: as he that hem doth byg[i]nne."
Tho the King of France ihurdĕ this: and othere that ther were,
That Seint Thomas this withseide: nothing apaid hi nere. 1640
"Sire Archĕbischop," he seide: "ich ihurĕ wel thi wrong;
"The King the beodeth love ynouȝ: the strif is on thé ilong.
"That woldest bynyme his lawes: that nere nevere bynome,
"And habbeth ibeo iholde of Kinges: that bifore him come.
"Gret maister thu woldest alondĕ beo: to moche were thi poër;
"To moche ich have honúred thé: in mi londĕ her.
"Bote thu grantie the riȝte lawes: bicome ich wole thi fo;
"And if we beoth thine fon bothe: ynot whoder thu wolt go."
Seint Thomas huld him evere in on: the Kingĕs werĕ wrothe,
And departede fram him so: in gretĕ wrathĕ bothe.
Hi stode and makede noyse ynouȝ: Seint Thomas he stod stille: 1651
For rather he wolde thanĕ deth: than herĕ lithere wille.

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Nou helpĕ Crist this holi man: for neode he hadde tho!
Nou bothe the Kingĕs beoth his fon: whoder mai he nou go?
Iflemmed he was of Engĕlonde: and of France also:
His men makede tho deol ynouȝ: and nustĕ tho what do.
And namliche his cunnĕs men: that for him iflemmed were.
"Louerd," hi seide, "allas allas: that we of lyvĕ nere!
"We beoth idryve of Engĕlonde: and of France also,
"What scholdĕ morĕ sorwe, Louerd: than is icome ous to?" 1660
Seint Thomas him makede glad ynouȝ: and gladede also his men anon.
"Beoth stille," he seide, "for ȝe makieth: neodles deol echon.
"ȝourĕ mete ȝe mowe aswynke: as gode men doth menion.
"Beo ȝe fram me, hi wolleth beo freondes: that nou beoth ȝourĕ fon.
"For ȝe nabbeth hate of noman: bote for me with wouȝ;
"And beo ȝe fram me iwend: me wole ȝou lovie ynouȝ."
"A sire! merci," quath this othere: "we witeth wel al this:
"For ous silvĕ nis ous noȝt: bote for thé, iwis.
"For we schulle wel oure mete iwinne: ac we nute what thu schalt do: 1669

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"Bote thu schulle for hunger deye: louerd, whar thu schullĕ so."
"Ich mai bidde mi mete," quath Seint Thomas: "ynam to god therto;
"God ȝuldĕ alle that eni god: for his love me hath ido.
"Bitueně Burgoigne and Province: as me doth me understonde,
"Gode men beoth and almĕsful: and of cundĕ londe.
"If ynemot in Francĕ beo: thider ich wolĕ wende,
"And bidde mi mete for Godĕs love: if he hit me wolĕ sende.
"ȝut som god man me mai iseo: if hit is Godĕs wille,
"And habbe reuthe of me, and helpĕ me: that meseise me ne spille."
His men for him and for hem silve: makede deol ynouȝ:
This gode man among al his wo: confortede hem and louȝ. 1680
Allas the deol that ther was: that such aman bitidde!
That tharchebischop of Canterbure: scholde his metĕ bidde!
Deore abouȝte he holi churche: and holi churchĕ riȝte!
Wel auȝte ech man her after drede: aȝen holi churche to fiȝte.
As ech man his levĕ nom: aboutĕ forto wende,
And this holi man ek, in his half: whoder God him woldĕ sende;
Whoder God wolde, to bidde his mete: forte God him sende betere won;

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God sende his grace among hem alle: that sori were echon.
The Kingĕs messager of France: to Seint Thomas com gon,
And seidĕ that the King him bad: to him come anon.
Forth wende this holi man: ac he nuste for whichĕ thinge, 1691
He tok him al to Godĕs wille: and com bifore the Kinge.
The King anon, so he him isez: toward him com gon,
And to his fet ful akneo: and cride merci anon.
"Blynd ich have ibeo," he seide: "and that ich understonde.
"Al mi lond to thi wille nouth: ich bitakĕ thé an honde.
"The while ich am in Francĕ Kyng: ich wole thé fynde ynouȝ,
"For ich understonde that sothĕ nouthe: that the King hath thé wouȝ."
To Seint Denys he sende aȝé: this godĕ man, iwis,
And fond him ther to spene ynou: him and allĕ his.
More he dude his miȝtĕ ȝut: and bituene hem sende his sonde, 1701
To bringe acord bitueně hem: and the King of Engĕlonde.
At Mount Martre in France: this dai was ynome:
Thider were the Kingĕs bothe: and Seint Thomas icome.
The King of Francĕ dude his miȝte: that hi were at one ibrouȝt

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Ac tho hi hadde to gadere ispęke: al hit was for noȝt.
For the King swor evere his grete oth: that he nolde acord non,
Bote the statutz of Clarendone: iholdĕ were echon.
And Seint Thomas swor, bi his day: that he nolde holde noȝt on;
Rathere he wolde thane deth afonge: bote ther were other iwon. 1710
Mid wraththĕ hi departedĕ: and nolde non other do:
Seint Thomas gan to sikĕ sore: and inliche wepe also.
"Louerd," he seidĕ, "help me nou: for thi swetĕ wounde!
"Other holi churche is upe the poynte: to beo ibroȝt to grounde.
Maister Herbard of Bozham: that on of his clerkĕs was,
In priveité bituene hem tuo: seidĕ to Seint Thomas;
"Sire," (he seide,) "the Mountmartre: this hul icliped is,
"As hi habbeth ispeke of the pays: of holi churche, iwis;
"And as the name saith of this hul: ich douti on mi thoȝt,
"Thurf thi martirdom holi churche: worth to riȝte ibroȝt." 1720
This other seide, and siȝtĕ sore: "God ȝeve hit werĕ so,
"That thurf mi deth holi churche: were ibroȝt therto,
"That heo were in riȝtĕ lawe: and in god pees ibroȝt:

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"And if ich hit miȝte bringe therto: of mi deth nere me no t."
Aȝen midsomer hit biful: that the King gan understonde,
And in wraththe of Seint Thomas: aȝen wende to Engĕlonde,
To seisi Henri his sone: with al his kynĕdom,
And to crouni him, and longe him thoȝte: er he therto com.
And his consail that his was: mest of allĕ thinge,
Holi churche and Seint Thomas: in unriȝt forto bringe. 1730
For the archĕbischopes riȝt: of Canterbury hit is,
To crouni the King of Engĕlond: and non other, iwis;
And the King, in prejudice of him: to bynyme his riȝte,
Let other Bischops crouni his sone: and cudde a lutel miȝte.
Four Bischops him crounede: aȝen riȝt and wone;
Tharchebischop of Everwyke: and the Bischop of Londone;
And the Bischop of Salesbury: and of Roucetre also;
At Westmynstre, in Seint Peteres churche: this dedĕ was ido.
The fader servedĕ the sone: attĕ mete, aday; 1739
And with the reaumĕ seidĕ him: as al that folc isay.
This tethinges of this Kinges: to Seint Thomas come;
Of the unriȝt he sendĕ some: to the Court of Rome.
The Pope him sende his lettres aȝé: and his bulle, that me scholde

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Amansi the King and his consail: which tymĕ that he wolde;
And suspendi the Bischops: that such unriȝt dude there;
And entrediti al Engelond: forto hit amended were.
Seint Thomas athuld the lettre: forte God the gracĕ sende,
That he miȝte the dedĕ do: whan he to Engelond wende.
ȝut com Henri King tholthe: oftsone into France,
And the King of France was anuyed: of his desturbance; 1750
And wende aboute to makie acord. and bituene sendĕ faste,
So that, as God hit wolde: hi acordede attĕ laste.
A Seintĕ Marie dai Magdalene: ido was this dede,
In a stede, that me clipeth: Traitoures Mede.
Also furde thacord: as the mede icliped was:
For therafter in a lutĕ stounde: nothing isene hit nas.
Moche hi speke in priveité: and in grete love wende atuo;
And Seint Thomas wende that the King: wolde al his willĕ do.
Maister Herbard of Bozam: to the King siththĕ wende,
Upe foreward that hi hadde: as Seint Thomas him sende; 1760
And bad him hotĕ ȝulde aȝé: as furforth as he miȝte,
That his ballifs in his bischopriche: nomĕ mid unriȝte.
"ȝé," quath he, "wolde he so? ȝut he schal abide.

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"Ich wole furst lokĕ hou he wole: him bere in other side.
"Peraventure he mai so faire: him berĕ aȝé me,
"That ich him wole ȝulde ech ferthing: therfore cheosĕ he."
Lo which acord this was: and hou sone ido!
The anuy that hadde Seint Thomas: nas noȝt yënded so.
Maister Herbard wende aȝé: and tolde Seint Thomas fore. 1769
"ȝé," thoȝte this holi man: "this pees is forlore."
Him silf Seint Thomas siththe: to the Kingĕ wende,
To spekĕ more of this acord: if he hit miȝte amende.
The King him wolcomede as liȝte: as he ne huld noȝt therto;
And wende him forth, and Seint Thomas: to hure his masse also.
He was iwoned to hure his masse: as hit ful to the day,
And tho nom he forth a soulĕ masse: that noȝt therto ne lay.
For he nolde cussĕ massĕcos: to cussĕ Seint Thomas:
This holi man thoȝtĕ wel: whi thenchesoun was.
Wel narewe the King him bithoȝte: to dryve his lither thoȝt:
This acord was sone ido: and to feble ende ibroȝt. 1780
Tho the massĕ was ido: in consail longe hi stode.
Ofte the King up breide the he: him dude er of gode;
Hou loȝ man to him he com: and in which poër he him broȝte,
And that he auȝte wel uvele aȝen him beo: if he him wel bithoȝte.

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So hi were togadere longe: and tho hi hadde al ido,
Theȝ hit lutĕ while ilaste: with love hi departede atuo.
Seint Thomas gan to sikĕ sore: tho he him hadde understonde,
That he hadde so longe ibeo: out of Engĕlonde;
Theȝ hit were aȝen his wille: him thoȝte hit a lither dede,
That his bischopriche hadde ibeo: withoute govern and rede. 1790
To the King of France he wendĕ furst: and to the gode men and hende,
And faire of hem his leve he nom: to Engĕlonde to wende.
He thonkede hem of al onúr: that hi him hadde ido,
And with fair condut and gret love: fram hem wendĕ so.
With gret honúr he wende of France: toward Engĕlonde;
Attĕ havene he gan abide: that me clipeth Whitsonde.
The lettres that he hadde of Rome: to Engĕlond he sende,
To do the sentence al abrod: bifore him er he wende.
The Archebischop of Everwyk: in sentence he let do,
And the Bischop of Salesbure: and of Londone also;
For hi hadde icrouned the ȝungĕ King: aȝen his digneté,
With unriȝt in his bischopriche: he amansede allĕ threo.
Tho the tethinge to hem com: hi makeden hem wroth ynouȝ, 1803
And thretnede this holi man: theȝ hit were with wouȝ.

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Seint Thomas wende toward schipe: to Engĕlond to wende:
A man ther com fram Engĕlond: aȝen him, god and hende.
"A sire!" he seide, "for Godĕs love: ne passe noȝt ȝut the see;
"For knyȝtes ther beoth in Engĕlonde: iredi thé to slee.
"At eche havene hi awaitieth: to kepe thé, meni on:
"If thu comest among hem ouȝt: thu worst aslawe anon." 1810
"Certĕs, sire," quath Seint Thomas: "ynele no leng abide;
"To Engĕlond ich wole nou drawe: itidĕ what bitide.
"Theȝ ich beo to drawe lyme mele: ynele abide namore:
"To longe ich have thannes ibeo: and that me reweth sore.
"The soulĕs that ich have to loke: six ȝer and more, iwis,
"Withoutĕ warde habbeth ibeo: allas to longe hit is!
"Wel ich wot ich wordĕ ther: aslawe, er comĕ longe:
"Ich wole for holi churchĕ riȝt: thanĕ deth fawe afonge.
"Ac biddeth for me to Jesu Crist: ich bidde, par charité.
"Ac tofore alle othere namĕliche: o thing biddeth for me, 1820
"That God, for his holi grace: to Canterbury me sende,
"That ich mote quik other ded: to myn owe churchĕ wende;
"If ynemay noȝt alyvĕ come: er ich ymartred beo,
"That mi bodi motĕ ded: God hit granti me!"

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His leve he nom dulfulliche: to schipe he wendĕ tho:
He thonkede him al onúr: that he him hadde ido.
And biteiȝte al Francĕ Jesu Crist: and blescede hit wel faste,
That folc makede deol ynouȝ: the sorewe longe ilaste.
At Dovere werĕ Knyȝtĕs ȝare: that ihurde of him telle,
As sonĕ as he come up there: iredi him to quelle. 1830
Sire Renald de Warenne: and Sire Randolf de Broke,
And also Gerveis the Scherreve: gret folc with him toke,
To kepe this seli man at Dovere: whan he come up of the see,
And, bote he wolde here willĕ do: al ȝarĕ him to sle.
To the havene of Sandwich: that schip wel evene drouȝ,
And thother him abide at Dovere: with threting ynouȝ.
In the schipĕs seyl anheȝ: this holi man let do,
A croicĕ that me fur iseȝ: isowed faste therto.
That was signe of his banèr: for other ne kipte he non:
Men stode at Sandwych, and bihulde: the croicĕ meni on.
"We seoth nou hiderward," hi seide: "oure Bischop Thomas." 1841
The ȝut he was fur in the see: me wistĕ ho hit was.
The cri was sonĕ widĕ couth: that folc orn swithe ynouȝ;
And er he were to londe icome: faste aȝen him drouȝ.
Hi cride and thonkede Jesu Crist: that hi him moste alyve iseo;

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Hi wolcomede him with joye ynouȝ: ne miȝte noman more beo.
The thriddĕ dai of the Advent: bifore Cristĕs masse hit was,
That he com thus to Engĕlond: this gode man Seint Thomas;
The sovethe ȝer that he furst wende: out of Engĕlonde,
For six ȝer and a month he was fleme: as ich understonde. 1850
This was ellevĕ hondred ȝer: and sixti and tene,
After that God an urthe: in his moder aliȝte, ich wene.
The word to this Kniȝtĕs com: to Dovere, of this cas,
Hou Seint Thomas the holi man: at Sandwych aryved was.
To Sandwych hi wendĕ faste: Seint Thomas hi fonde anon;
With lither semblant ynouȝ: hi wolcomede him echon.
Hi seide, "Hou havestou thanĕ wey: to Engĕlonde ynome,
"That desturbest the lond: as sone as thu er icome,
"And also al holi churche: as we aldai iseoth,
"That amansest the Bischops: that thyne felawĕs beoth? 1860
"Thu auȝtest mid allĕ lawe: love pees and arere,
"And ther nas nevere alondĕ pees: siththe thu bischop were.
"If thu thenchest wel to do: withdrauȝ thi dede, we redeth, sone;
"Other me schal do bi thé: as bi such a man is to done."
"Mi leovĕ freond," quath Seint Thomas: "soth hit is ynouȝ,

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"That mansing ich let do: mid riȝte and noȝt mid wouȝ;
"And bi mi louerdes leve, the King: that ech man in riȝte were,
"That so gret trepás ne wendĕ forth: bote hit amended were,
"And were eftsonĕ afterward: mid unriȝt and aȝé lawe,
"In diserteisoun of mi churche: to custume idrawe.
Tho the Kniȝtes ihurde: that the King consentede therto, 1871
Hi bilevede here gretĕ mod: and here threting also,
And in faire manere bede him: undo his mansinge,
To norischi love to his felawes: bituene him and the Kinge.
So that respit bituenĕ hem: of this answere hi nome,
Forte Seint Thomas amorwe: to Canterbury come.
Seint Thomas amorwe: to Canterbure drouȝ;
The contrai aȝen him com: with joye and blisse ynouȝ.
Ech preost somnede his parosche: clanliche, in ech ende;
To beo ȝare aȝen him: with processioun to wende;
So that with processioun: meni and faire ynouȝ, 1881
With croiz and with tapres: the contray aȝen him drouȝ.
With croiz and with taperes: ne miȝte non morĕ beo,
Hi thonkede allĕ Jesu Crist: that hi miȝte him alyve iseo.
Of bellen and of taperes: so gret was the soun,
Of instrument and of song: tho he com into the toun,

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That me ne miȝte ihure other thing: for the noyse so gret;
More joye ne miȝtĕ beo: than was in the stret.
As oure Louerd a Palmsonedai: honúred was ynouȝ,
Tho he rod into Jerusalem: and toward his dethĕ drouȝ; 1890
Also was Seint Thomas: as me miȝte iseo there,
For oure Louerd wolde that his deth; ilichĕ to his were.
Er this holi man, Seint Thomas: to his churchĕ come,
The monekes with processioun: aȝen him thane wei nome.
Of his palefrai he aliȝte adoun: and the monekes echon,
To the heȝe weved myldĕliche: hi ladde him up anon.
Tho he hadde at churche ido: al that was to done,
With his men myldĕliche: to his in he wendĕ sone.
Nadde Seint Thomas noȝt ibeo: at his paleys wel longe,
That this Kniȝtĕs eft ne come: here answere to afonge. 1900
Hi beden as hi duden er: undo his mansinge,
And assoilli the Bisschops: that he let therinne bringe.
"Beau frere," quath Seint Thomas: "that ne mai ich do noȝt;
"For hi beoth in sentence: thurf the Pope ibroȝt.
"And ynemai noȝt undo his dede: ȝe wite, in nonĕ place;
"Ac noȝt for than ich tristĕ wel: so mochĕ to his grace,
"That ich wole assoilli hem: in thissĕ formĕ, fawe,

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"That hi do surance forto stonde: to holi churchĕ lawe,
"And to the heved of holi churche: and in other formĕ non."
The Kniȝtĕs tho hi hurdĕ this: faste hi chidde echon;
And tho hi nadde non other word: for wraththĕ forth hem wende, 1911
And tolde the Bischops here answere: that hem thider sende.
The Bischops hem makede wroth ynouȝ: and thretnede faste,
And nathĕles the tueye of hem: withdrowe hem attĕ laste.
The Bischop of Salesbury: and of Londone also,
To holi churchĕ woldĕ stonde: and to hire loking also.
Ac tharchebischop of Everwyk: anon him withsede:
"Daithat," he seide, "that astonde: so folliche at ȝoure rede,
"Forto don ous in his grace: that evere was oure fo.
"He hath ido ous meni schame: and thanne he wole do ous mo. 1920
"Theȝ he habbe of ȝou poër: he nath non of me,
"For Archebischop ich am: ȝe wite, as wel as he.
"Ich wot ich have a lutĕ cofre: that stent hol and sound,
"Ther beoth ȝut innĕ attĕ leste: eiȝtĕ hondred pound.
"ȝare ich am to speně that: ȝut me thencheth to lute,
"Forto awreke ous wel of him: and alegge his prute.
"Wende we to the Kinge anon: and telle we of this dede,

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"And that him ne tideth nevereft pees: bote he him therof rede."
This threo Bischops hastĕliche: over see thanĕ wei nome;
Alute biforĕ Cristes masse: to the King hi come. 1930
Hi fonden him in Normandie: hi fulle adoun akneo;
Hi beden him holden up his onúr: and here help to beo.
Hi tolden him hou this gode man: tho he to londĕ com,
Desturbede al holi churche: and the kynĕdom;
And hou he hadde with gretĕ prute: in sentence ido
Alle that makede his sone Kyng: and assentede therto;
And hou he, in despit of him: dude suche lither dede,
And the lawes of his lond: alout riȝt withsede.
Theȝ King the he hurdĕ this: for wraththe he was neȝ wod;
He ȝeode up and doun as witles: and ofte in thoȝtĕ stod. 194
"If alle that makedi mi sone King: he manseth," he sede,
"Mid the furste he manseth me: for hit was mi dede.
"Ho miȝte in suchĕ sorinisse: such lyf longĕ lede?
"The traitour aspilleth al that lond: and brinȝth ous in wrecchede."
Ofte he cursede alle: that he hadde forth ibroȝt,
That hi of the falsĕ preost: his fo, ne wreke him noȝt,
That desturbed al that lond: and broȝtĕ in wrecchede.
As he ȝeodĕ up and doun: and this wordĕs sede,
His Kniȝtĕs, tho hi hurdĕ this: hi stodĕ sonĕ stille:
Hi bithoȝtĕ stillĕliche: to paye the Kingĕs wille. 1950

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Foure that the mestĕ schrewen were: bithoȝten of a gyle,
Sire Renald le Fizours: and Sire Hughe de Moreville,
And Sire Williem the Traci: and Sire Richard the Brut;
Here namĕs, for here schrewede: ne beoth noȝt forȝutĕ ut.
Hi nome hem to redĕ stillĕliche: to passi the see,
And forto paye the Kingĕs wille: Seint Thomas to sle.
Stillĕliche hi wendĕ forth: that no man hit nuste.
Hi were neȝwhat attĕ see: er the King hit wiste:
Tho the King hit underȝet: after hem he sende, 1959
That hi levede here folie: and aȝen to him wende.
Ac this messager ne miȝtĕ noȝt: atake hem mid no ginne,
For er he com to the see: hi were fur with inne,
Tho makede the King deol ynouȝ: that hi were forth iwend,
And that the messager hem ne oftok: that he after hem isend.
Seint Thomas at Canterbure: a Midewynteres day,
Stod and prechedĕ that folc: as meni man isay.
In his predicatioun: he gan to sikĕ sore,
And deol and sorwe makede ynouȝ: ne miȝtĕ no man more.
He wep and lokedĕ therto: hou the teres urne adoun;
Ther was ek meni weping eȝe: sone into al the toun.
"Mi leovĕ freond," quath Seint Thomas: wepingĕ wel sore, 1961
"ȝoure preost ich habbe awhilĕ beo: ac ynemai nou nomore.

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"For myn endedai is neȝ icome: ynĕ worthĕ noȝt her
longe,
"Ich schal for holi churchĕ riȝt: quik thane deth
afonge.
"Biddeth for me, for Godĕs love: and for holi churche
also.
"That is almest ibroȝt to grounde: bote God nyme
ȝeme therto.
"Ac thane deth ich wole fawe afonge: whan hit is
Godĕs wille,
"For the riȝt of holi churche: rather than heo aspille."
Boc and candle he nom anon: and amansedĕ riȝt there,
Alle that werrede holi churche: and aȝen hire riȝtĕs
were; 1970
And nameliche Sire Randolf de Broke: and Sire Robert de Brok also,
That the bischopriche of Canterbury: mid unriȝt
hadde misdo.
For the while Seint Thomas was out of londe: the
King Henri bitoc
The bischopriche, al to loke: to Sire Randolf de Brok;
And he makede Robert de Brok: his clerk that was
tho,
Wardeyn therof under him: that dude the lond wel wo.
He destruyde al the bischopriche: and to him nom and
drouȝ,
And let him gret bold arere: of that he nom with wouȝ.
Therinne a Cristĕs massĕ dai: tho this mansing was ido,
He sat and et nobliche: and meni with him also. 1980
He castĕ houndĕs of his bred: that bifore him lay,

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And everech hound hit forsoc: as al that folc isay.
Tho handlede he other bred: and let menge hit, attě laste,
With other bred ther biside: and amonge the houndes hit caste.
Al that he ihandled hadde: the houndĕs hit forlete,
And chose out thother ther among: and clanliche hit ete.
The mansing was on him isene: anon thulkě day;
Ther was gret wreche of God: as al that folc isay.
Whan hi that bred forsoke: that tofore him lay,
Bi a Fridai, thulkě ȝer: was Cristĕs massě day. 1990
As this four lithere Kniȝtes: of wham we gonně telle,
To Engĕlondě were icome: Seint Thomas forto quelle;
To the castel of Saltwode: a Seint Thomas dai hi come,
Six myle fram Canterbury: and ther here in nome.
And Sire Randolf de Brok: to hem com wel sone.
Thulkě niȝt hi nome here red: the lithere dede to done.
Amorwe, a Childerne massě dai: (as God the gracě sende,)
Sire Randolf de Brok: to Canterburě wende,
Forto enquere of Seint Thomas: whar hi him miȝtě fynde,
That he ne drowe him noȝt awei: ne huddě him bihynde. 2000
This Kniȝtĕs thaně Tuësdai: nolde no leng bileve,
Ac wendě forth to Canterbure: wel er hit were eve.
Aboutě tyme of evĕsong: to Seint Thomas hi come,
Thane wei, baldĕliche: to his chambre hi nome.

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Hi come, and fonden him stillĕliche: in his chambre stonde,
With his privei clerkes: and gret consail hadde anhonde.
Sire Renald le Fizours: grimlichĕ forth wende:
"Sire," he seide, "oure louerd the King: in message hider ous sende.
"Fram him out of Normandie: an heste we habbeth ibroȝt,
"That thu do his comandĕment: that thu ne bileve hit noȝt; 2010
"And that thu wendĕ to his sone: that ȝung Kyng ymaked is,
"And amende aȝen him that thu hast: his fader ido amis;
"And swere him oth to beo him true: and of the baronye also,
"That thu holdest of him in chief: do that thu auȝtest to do.
"The clerkĕs that thu bringest with thé: if hi wolleth her astonde,
"Swerie the King true to beo: other hi schulle out of londe."
"Beau sire," quath this godĕ man: "ynelĕ thé noȝt lie:
"Ich wole do the King that ich auȝte: for the baronie.
"Ac nolde God that holi churche: underfote were so,
"That ich, other mi clerkes: eni of hem do. 2020
"Thu wost wel that alle the lewede men: that beöth in his londe,

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"Ne swerieth noȝt thulkĕ oth: as ich understonde.
"Nou wolde ȝe holi churche: in gret servagĕ do,
"In more than a lewed man: nai, ne worth hit noȝt so."
"Me thinȝth wel," quath Sire Renald: "thu nelt do nothing,
"Of the heste that we bringeth thé: fram oure louerd the King.
"We hoteth thé ek, in his half: that thu assoilli also
"The Bischop[s] that thu hast: in sentence ido."
"Beau sire," quath Seint Thomas: "hit nis mi dedĕ noȝt:
"Ac thurf the Popĕs owĕ mouth: hi beoth in sentence ibroȝt; 2030
"And, thu wost wel, ynemai noȝt: the Popĕs dede undo."
"Thurf the Pope," quath Sire Renald: "ido? thurf thé hit is so."
"If the Pope," quath Seint Thomas: "hath in sentence ibroȝt,
"That habbeth mi churche misdo: hit ne mispaeth me noȝt."
"In eche manère thu schewest wel:" Sire Renald seidĕ tho,
"Forto anuye oure louerd the King: and thu ert his fo.
"Whar thurf we wel iseoth: thu wilnest him do wo,
"And bynyme his crounĕ, if thu miȝt: ac hit ne schal noȝt go so;
"And king thu woldest beo in his stede: thu ne worst nevermo."

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"Certes, sire," quath Seint Thomas: "yně thenchě
no3t therto. 2040
"Ac ich him wole rathere therto helpe: so mochě as
ich may,
"And for him and his honúr: ich biddě ni3t and day.
"For ther nis non an urthe: that ich lovie more, iwis,
"Than ich do him, sauf his fader: that mi louerd is.
"A Seintě Marie dai Magdalene: (to sothe ich siggě
thé,)
"Thacord was ymaked: bituene mi louerd and me;
"And he seide me that ich lete amansi: alle that
habbeth misdo
"Mi churche, that is his owě moder: and that ich
habbe ido."
"Avoy! sire preost!" quath this other: "to moche
thu spext ne3,
"Thu desclandrest thin owě louerd: thou nert
nothin[g] sle3. 2050
"Saistou that mi louerd the King: in mansing let do
"Alle that makede his sone King: ne consentede he
therto?
"Nas hit al bi his owě dede: and bi non other maněs
lore?
"Avoi! sire preost!" he seide, "bithench thé bet:
ne sai thu so nomore."
"Sire," quath Seint Thomas: "thu wost wel hit was
so:
"For thu were ther tho thé silf: and meni other therto,
"Archebischops and Bischops: and other grete and
he3e;

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"ȝe, vyf hondred men and mo: as thé silf iseȝe."
"Beo stille!" quath this lithere Kniȝt: "hold thi mouth, ich rede.
"Thu missaist foule thin owĕ louerd: daithat hit so sede.
"Ho miȝtĕ suffri such desclandre: bote he nomĕ wrecche? 2061
"Bi the fei that ich owe to God: me schal thé another teche."
His felawes also everechone: here armĕs abrod caste,
And furde as men that wodĕ were: and thretnedĕ faste.
To the monekes hi wendeanon: "cometh forth," hi sede,
"ȝe holdeth her the Kingĕs fo: witeth him wel, ich rede:
"And her to the Kingĕs wille: his bodi habbĕ ȝare,
"Other he schal ȝoure londes aboute: and ȝoure manèrs make bare."
"Sire Renald," quath Seint Thomas: "wenestou ich wole fleo?
"Nai, pardé, noȝt ofót: for the King ne for thé!" 2070
"Bi Gode, sire preost," quath Renaud: "bi than thu wost than ende:
"Thi fleoinge worth swithĕ schort: thu ne schal noȝt fur wende."
This Kniȝtĕs in grete wraththe ynouȝ: wendĕ forth anon,
And lete hem armi swithĕ wel: and come aȝé echon,
With swerdĕs and with axes: and mid other armĕs mo;
Robert de Brok, the lithere clerk: was with hem tho.
Into the cloistre of Canterbure: with grete noyse hi gonne weve:

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The monekes songe compli: for hit was neȝ eve.
Summe for this gretĕ noyse: fulle adoun for fere;
Summe bigonne to fleo aboute: as hi witles were. 2080
Seint Thomas nom a croice anhonde: and other armĕs non,
And therwith wel baldĕliche: ȝeode aȝen his fon.
The monekes urnĕ to him sone: "Sire, merci!" hi sede,
"For Godĕs love abyd ȝut: oure Louerd thé mai wel rede.
"Suffre that we helpĕ thé: other that we with thé deye."
Some wolde maki the dores: tho hi this iseye.
"Bileveth," quath this holi man: "ȝe ne doth noȝt as the wise:
"Singeth forth ȝour evĕsong: and oure Louerdes servise.
"Me ne schal of holi churche: castel mak non.
"Leteth foles astounde awede: and in here folies gon."
This Kniȝtĕs comĕ reken in: here folies forto do:
"Whar is," hi seide, "the traitour: and fals Bischop also?" 2092
Seint Thomas nom the croiz anhonde: and answerede his fon:
"Her ich am, Godĕs preost: ac traitour nan ich non.
"Secheth him that wole ȝu fleo: other thredĕ ȝoure thretinge.
"No prestere ne bcoth ȝoure swerdes: me to dethĕ bringe,
"That myn hurtĕ prestere nis: thane dethĕ forto take:
"For the riȝt of holi churche: yncle thane deth forsake."

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Ther wendĕ forth on, anon: and his hure of drouȝ,
And his mantel afterward: mid vyltĕ ynouȝ. 2100
Sire Renald le Fizours: pursuede him anon.
"Sire Renald," quath Seint Thomas: "hou schal this nou gon?
"Ich have thé oſtĕ god ido: thé and othere mo."
"Thu schalt sone," quath this other: "wite hou hit schal go.
"Traitour! thu ert ded anon: other neli do!"
"To sothe," quath [this] holi man: "prest ich am therto.
"For the riȝtes of holi churche: of the deth ich am fawe,
"If heo miȝte therafterward: in pees beo and in lawe.
"Ac ich bidde ȝu, if ȝe sicheth me: in ourĕ Louerdes name,
"That ȝe ne come neȝ no man: him to no schame:
"For non other gulti nis: of that ȝe witeth me; 2111
"Alle gulteles hi beoth bote ich one: therfore siker ȝe beo;
"And also gulteles as hi beoth: harmles leteth hem wende."
This gode man sat adoun akneo: tho he seȝ his ende:
And forto fongĕ martirdom: the heved he bed adoun,
And wel softe, as somme ihurde: seide his oreisoun.
"Oure Louerd and Seint Marie: and Seint Dionis also,
"And alle the avowes of the churche: that ich an on ido;
"Ich bitake mi soul here: and holi churchĕ riȝte."
ȝut he bad for holi churche: tho he nadde non other miȝte. 2120

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Sire Renald le Fizours: mest schrewe of echon,
Forto smyte this holi man: his swerd he drouȝ anon.
Ac Edward Grim, that was his clerc: of Grantebrugge ibore;
To helpe his louerd, if he miȝte: his arm pulte bifore.
He wondede his arm swithe sore: the blod orn adoun:
With thulkĕ dint he smot also: Seint Thomas upe the croun,
That the blod orn bi his face adoun: bi the riȝt half of the wounde.
Loude gradde this lithere Kniȝt: "smiteth alle to grounde!" 2128
Edward Grim and alle his men: that aboute him were,
Urne aboute ech in his side: upe the wevedĕs for fere.
As hit bi oure Louerd furde: tho the Gywes him nome,
His disciples flowe anon: he nuste whar hi bicome.
For in the Godspel hit is iwrite: as oure Louerd silf sede,
"Whan me smyteth the schephurde: the schep wolleth to sprede."
And oure Louerde bad me ne scholde: his disciples non harm do:
Theron thoȝtĕ Seint Thomas: and bad for his men also.
Another Kniȝt smot Seint Thomas: in thulkĕ silvĕ wounde,
And makede buye his face adoun: and loke toward the grounde.
The thridde in thulkĕ silvĕ stede: therafter him smot anon, 2139
And makede him aloute adoun: his facĕ upe the ston.

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In thulkĕ stede the furthĕ smot: that thothere hadde er ido,
And the poynt of his swerd brak: in the marbelston atuo.
For honur of the holi man: that therwith was ismyte,
Thulke poynt at Canterbury: the monekes witieth ȝute.
With thulkĕ stroc he smot of: the sculle and eke the croune,
That the brayn orn abrod: upe the pavĕment therdoune.
The white brayn was ymengd: with red blod there;
The colour was fair to iseo: theȝ hit reuthĕ were.
And alround hit orn aboute his heved: as theȝ hit were a diademe, 2049
And alround theraboutĕ lay: wherof me tok grete ȝeme.
For whan me peynt an halewe: ȝe ne seoth noȝt bileved,
That ther nis ipeynt around: alaboute the heved;
That is iclepid diademe: as me seȝ ther a fair cas,
Bi the diademe of his heved: that he halewe was.
Tho this holi man was aslawe: this Kniȝtĕs gradde echone,
"This traitour is to dethe ibroȝt: wende we hunne anon.
"Sueth ous the Kingĕs men: and alle that with him beoth:
"Of this traitour we beoth awreke: as we alle iseoth.
"He thoȝte beo heȝere than the King: and bynyme his croune,

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"And to noȝt bringe al that lond: and nou he lith therdoune!" 2060
As the Gywes dude bi oure Louerd: tho hi wolde him to dethĕ do,
That he makede him king, and non nas: and Godes Sone also.
Tho this lithere Kniȝtes: fram Seint Thomas were agon,
Robert de Brok him bithoȝte: and aȝé turnede anon,
And thurf his scullĕ smot the swerd: fur with inne the heved,
That the sculle al amti was: and no brayn therinne bilevede.
As the Gywĕs smyte oure Louerd: into the hurte grounde,
After his deth, with a spere: and makede him the vyftĕ wounde.
This lithere men alle in o stede: smitĕ Seint Thomas,
In the sculle evene abrod: as the crounĕ was. 2070
He nas noȝt the man that wolde: his heved enes withdrawe,
Ne fondĕ forto blinche a strok: ne his fot aweiward wawe;
Ne enĕs grone ne makie cri: ac myldĕliche and softe
His heved huld eveneforth: theȝ hi smyten ofte.
This lithere Kniȝtĕs wende anon: to his tresorie,
And breke his dorĕs and his cofres: and dude here robberie;
Hi nome his clothĕs and his hors: and his tresòur also,

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Chartres and other privei writes: that in his cofres were ido.
Hi bitoke hem Sire Randolf de Brok: that he to the Kingĕ wende, 2079
Therwith into Normandie: and sigge that hi him sende,
That he dude therwith what he wolde: and if ther eni were,
Azen his franchise and his wille: that he hit sone to tere.
Among his tresour hi fonde ek: tuei wel strongĕ here,
Wel vylliche hi hem nome and caste awei: as hi nozt worth nere;
And natheles hi bithozte hem: and were somdel in fere,
And bispeke bituene hem stillĕliche: that he god man were.
Sire Williem de Traci siththĕ tolde: of this gode man Seint Thomas,
The Bischop of Excestre in schrifte: as he ischryvĕ was,
That tho Seint Thomas was islawe: and hi outward were,
Hem agros so sorĕ that hi were: nez witles for fere.
For hem thoztĕ as hi outward wende: ne zeoden hi nozt so swithe, 2091
That the urthe openede hem azé: to swolewe hem alyve.
Tho Seint Thomas aslawĕ was: and the Knizites out agon,
Into al the toun of Canterbure: couth hit was anon;

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That folc cride dulfulliche: and to churchĕ drowe,
And honurede that holi bodi: and custĕ hit ynowe.
The monekes come sone thider: and this holi bodi toke,
In a bere faire hi hit leide: and tofore an auter hit woke.
The face was whyt and cler ynouȝ: and no blod therinne,
Bote fram the lift half of his foreheved: to the lift half of his chinne, 2100
A smal rewe ther was of blod: that over his nosĕ drouȝ;
No more blod nas in his necke: as that folc iseȝ ynouȝ.
The wonden bledde al longĕ niȝt: me miȝte hente therof, iwis:
In the churche of Canterbure: of the blod ȝut ther is.
Ac he nas of nothe worse heu: for al that he bleddĕ there,
Bote cler and ihewed wel ynouȝ: as he alyvĕ were:
Sumdel laȝinge with his mouth: he lai as he slepe.
That folc was aboute him thicke: that blod forto kepe;
And forto gaderi of that blod: that ischad was in the grounde,
And of the urthĕ that was bibled: glad weren hi whan hi hit founde. 2110
For that nolde noman hem werne: thicke awei me hit drouȝ,
And ho miȝte him enĕs tuochi: he was glad ynouȝ.
Amorwe this lithere Kniȝtes: armeden hem eftsone,
And withoute the tounĕ nome here red: what hem was to done.

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Hi radden hem to nyme this bodi: and with wylde hors to drawe,
And on a warȝtreo hongen hit siththe: and seidĕ hit was lawe:
For he nas worthĕ to beon ibured: in churche, ne in churchȝerd.
This monekes overtrowede this: and were sumdel aferd.
Hi burede this holi bodi: in a stede ther biside,
With wel lute solempneté: for hi ne therste no leng abide. 2120
This holi bodi was ibured: in the minstrĕ of Jesu Crist,
Bifore Seint Austines weved: and Seint Johnes the Baptist.
Hi ne therste so longe abide: that the bodi iwaschĕ were,
Ac al ungreithed hi leide hit in: and hiȝedĕ for fere.
As hi strupten his clothĕs of: al abouten him hĭ fonde
Clerkĕs clothes, as hit biful: ac another attĕ grounde:
For monekes abyt was withinne: as hi fondĕ there,
Bothe couele and stamyn: hi fondĕ next the here.
So that he was withinnĕ monek: and seculer withoute:
Nuste noman his priveité: of that hem was aboute.
Next his flesch his herĕ was: with knottĕs menion;
That deope in his flesch hi wode: and summe anon to the bon. 2132
Therof he haddĕ schurte and brech: lutel ese he miȝtĕ vele;
So that he was therinne ibounde: fram schuldre to the hele.

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With lutel ese he miȝtĕ sitte: and unésĕlichĕ ride,
And unésĕlichĕ liggĕ ek: and wende up aither side.
Ful of wormĕs was his flesch: ek to other wo,
In no creature (ich understonde): ne fond nevere man mo.
For in eche stedĕ of his flesch: hi were so thicke isete,
That the grete ne miȝtĕ come: for the smalĕ to here mete. 2140
Faste hi schove and cropĕ ek: as emeten alaboute;
Ac the smalĕ clevede fastĕ to: the grete levede withoute.
He deide ellevĕ hondred ȝer: and soventi and on,
After that oure Louerd aliȝte: to nyme oure flesch and bon.
Of threo and vyfti ȝer him silf: of eldĕ he was tho:
He haddĕ meni a fair dai: ilyved in care and wo.
The King was evere in Normandie: and therof nustĕ noȝt:
He makede deol and sorwe ynou: tho the tethinge him was ibroȝt.
In the castel of Argenteyme: he sojournede tho, 2149
Withoute the ȝet ne com he noȝt: fourti dayes ne mo;
Ac evere him hulde in priveité: in wop and other wo;
For no neode that me him sede: he nolde withoutĕ go.
He ne roȝte nothing of this wordle: lute he et also:
The sorwe and deol that he makede: ne miȝte nevere beo ido.
He sende anon to Canterbure: for this deolful dede,

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And the monekĕs bad pitousliche: that hi for him bede;
And sende hem word that hit nas: nothing bi his rede,
And that the Kniȝte[s] wendĕ forth: and nothing hi ne seide;
And that he sendĕ after hem: that hi come aȝé,
And er the man hem comĕ to: hi were fur in the see.
To the Popĕ also god: the King sendĕ sone, 2161
And bad his consail pitousliche: what him was to done;
And bad him, for the love of God: in such angusse him rede,
That he were ischryvĕ and assoilled: of the lithere dede.
The Pope haddĕ gret pité: that he such word him sende;
And gret joy that he hadde wille: his lyf to amende.
Tuei Cardynals he sendĕ him: wise men bothĕ tuo,
To schryve him of thulkĕ synne: and assoilli also;
And the Bischops to assoilli ek: that were in mansinge.
Wele that this Cardinals: wolcome were the Kinge.
The King bad hem deolfulliche: schryve him of the dede; 2171
Ac bihet hem stabliche: to stonde al at here rede.
He swore upe the halidom: that hit nas bi him noȝt,
Ne bi his wille, ne bi his heste: that he was to dethe ibroȝt;
Ne that for his fader deth: so sori man he nas,
Ne for his mordĕ nothĕmo: as he for him was.
And that he wolde with godĕ hurte: the penance al afonge,

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That hi wolde legge on him: nere hit noȝt so stronge;
For he was enchésoun of his deth: and of his anuy also,
For the Kniȝtĕs to paye him: brouȝtĕ him therto. 2180
Tho the Cardinals iseȝe: that he repentant withdrouȝ,
Hi assoillede him, and leide on him: penance strong ynouȝ,
In priveité, as riȝt was: that noman hit nuste;
And this ek that ich wole nou telle: that that folc of wiste;—
That he fonde to the holi londe: to hondred kniȝtes to fiȝte,
Al a ȝer, with Templers: for holi churchĕ riȝte;
And the statutz of Clarendone: he scholde alout withdrawe,
For whan this holi man: was ibroȝt of dawe;
And that he clanliche ȝulde aȝé: that bynomĕ was,
The bischopriche of Canterbure: for wraththe of Seint Thomas; 2190
That he schulde his uvel wille: al clanliche ek forȝyve,
Al that he hadde of londe: for wraththe of him idryve.
The King grantede al here wille: wepingĕ wel sore;
And seide hit was to lute: and bad legge on him more;
And seide, "almid willĕ her: mi bodi ich bitake:
"ȝeveth me penànce ynouȝ: ynelĕ non forsake."
He wende out attĕ churchĕ dore: assoilled to beo,
And ne huld him noȝt worthe: that me scholde him withinne iseo.
Withoute the churchĕ pitousliche: he sat adoun akneo,

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Ac the Cardinals nolde noȝt: his bodi al unwreo. 2200
Ac somdel above his clothes: hi assoillede him there.
For deol hi wopĕ pitousliche: meni that ther were.
As sone he make ane biheste: with wel dreori chere,
His fader penance to fulfille: if he of poër nere;
If he ful in feble stat: that he ne miȝte hit ful ende,
The penance he nom upe him silve: and dude as the hende.
Thus was this godĕ man: ibroȝt to martirdom:
Meni was the fair mirácle: that siththĕ for him com.
Me wiste in Jerusalem: that he was to dethe ido, 2209
Withinne the furstĕ fourtĕniȝt: that hit com therto.
For a monek of thulkĕ londe: in his deth uvel lay,
And his Abbot tofore him com: bifore his endĕ day;
And conjurede him that he scholde: after his deth uvel there,
Come to him and telle him fore: in which stat he were.
So that the monek deidĕ sone: as God ȝaf the cas.
To his Abbot siththe he com: as he conjured was;
And seide that he isaved was: in the joye of hevene anheȝ, 2217
And tolde him mochĕ of the joye: that he ther iseȝ.
He tolde him that thulkĕ tyme: that he to hevene com,
The Archebischop of Canterbury: tholede martirdom;
And that his soulĕ thulkĕ tyme: wende to hevene anon.
Fair was the processioun: that aȝen him com gon,
Of angles and of patriarcs: and of apostles also,
Of martirs and of confessours: and of virginĕs therto.
Hi nome alle his holi soule: and tofore oure Louerd come,

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And brouȝte him with joye ynouȝ: as he sat on his trone.
His crouně was al of ismyte: blodi was his heved,
And his brayn was al ischad: that ther nas noȝt ileved.
"Thomas! Thomas!" quath oure Louerd: "thus hit falleth to thé,
"To come into thi Louerdes court: in suche manère to me. 2230
"For thi servise, ich thé ȝeve: mochě joye and blis,
"As ich ȝaf Seint Peter: that myn owe disciple is."
A croune he sette upon his heved: of gold cler and god:
Wel bicom the briȝtě gold: upon the redě blod.
Morě joye ne miȝtě beo: than for him in hevene was:
The Archebischop of Canterbure: this was Seint Thomas.
The Tuesdai after Cristěs masse: the nextě that ther com,
The holi man Seint Thomas: tholede martirdom.
And whan thu hurest telle of his deth: of men of Engělonde,
Thu schalt ileove me of this tale: and that sothe underfonge. 2240
The Abbot sone amorwe: ne forȝet noȝt Seint Thomas,
Ac the Patriarc of Jerusalem: he toldě al that cas;
So that forthere in the ȝere: hit was wel understonde,
That Pelegrims thider come: out of Engělonde.
The Pelegrims tolde al that sothe: as he hadde er ised,
In what manère he was aslawe: and which tyme he was ded.

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Icud was thus in Jerusalem: the deth of Seint Thomas,
Withinne the furstĕ fourtĕniȝt: that he ymartred was.
The vyftĕ ȝer (ich understonde): after his martirdom,
Bituene King Henri and his sone: gret contek ther com. 2250
The sone bicom prout anon: for his kynĕdom,
And of his fader toldĕ lute: and werrĕ upe him nom.
The mestĕ del was with his sone: of al Engĕlonde,
And the King of France also: and the King of Scotlonde;
So that this seli oldĕ man: in sorwe was ynouȝ;
Al he hit wiste the lithere dede: that me Seint Thomas slouȝ.
He wendĕ out of Normandie: into Engĕlonde;
Er he com to Canterbure: he nolde no whar atstonde.
Tho he com fur withoute the toun: he gan to aliȝte adoun,
Al afote and barefot: he wende into the toun, 2260
In his curtel al ungurd: (as al that folc isay,)
And to the place he wendĕ so: as Seint Thomas lay.
He huld up his honden dulfulliche: and cridĕ milce and ore:
At his tumbe he ful akneo: wepingĕ wel sore.
Weping in his oreisouns: al fastinge he lay,
At this holi manĕs tumbe: a niȝt and a day.
Of ech monek of the hous: he let him discipline,
With a ȝurd, and ȝut him thoȝte: that hit was to lute pyne.
He bad hem allĕ dulfulliche: biddĕ for him one: 2269
He swor ek to legge adoun: the lithere lawes echone.

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So that he let singe a masse: er he thannĕs wende,
Of Seint Thomas the holi man: that he his grace him sende.
The whilĕ me this massĕ song: (as God ȝaf the cas,)
The Kyng of Scotlond was ynome: that his meste fo was;
And meni othere ek with him: that were his mestĕ fon,
So that hi that were ynome: naddĕ poër non.
So that this seli oldĕ Kynge: that bynethe tho was,
Al above was ibroȝt: thurf the grace of Seint Thomas;
And his sone was bynethe: and so biȝat ful lute,
To werren aȝen his fader: for his sori prute. 2280
Bi him men mowe nyme ensample: to beo to hastyve,
To ȝeve here sonĕs up here lond: the while hi beoth alyve.
The sone tho therafterward: provede uvele ynouȝ;
Wel longe bifore his fader: toward the dethe he drouȝ,
And forpynede in the meneisoun: that his lyf him thoȝtĕ longe,
And deidĕ siththĕ dulfulliche: in gret pyne and strong.
His brother also, Sire Geffrai: that of Britaigne Eorl was,
Deide ek in the meneisoun: in the silvĕ cas;
So that after here fader dethe: ther bilevede heir non,
Bote here brother Kyng Richard: and siththĕ Kyng John. 2290
Ac Sire Geffreiës child: bi riȝtĕ lawe of londe,
Scholde habbe ibore the heritage: as ich understonde:
Therfore that maide of Britaigne: that his douȝter was,
In warde was al hire lyf: for thulkĕ silvĕ cas.

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The lithere Kniȝtĕs, allĕ foure: that slowĕ Seint Thomas,
Deide in strongĕ dethĕ ynouȝ: and no wonder nas!
Hi were echone repentant: ne miȝtĕ none men more:
Evere hi cride on Seint Thomas: to ȝeve hem milce and ore.
Sone after that he was aslawe: here god al hi lete,
And wendĕ to the holi lond: here synnĕs forto bete.
Ac Williem Traci ne wendĕ noȝt: forth with thother threo; 2301
He hopede her in Engĕlond: repentant ynouȝ to beo;
Ac he bicom therafterward: in grete meseise and strong,
His flesch bigan to breken out: and rotede and foule stonk,
So longĕ, that hit stonk so foule: that deol hit was to seo,
That unethe myȝtĕ eni man: for stinchĕ neȝ him beo.
His flesch rotede on him ek: and aldai ful awey,
That his bonis were al bare: ne likede him no pley.
He todrouȝ ek his owĕ flesch: mid his honden, attĕ laste,
Pece and other al abrod: fram him awei caste. 2310
He todrouȝ honden and armes: mest of echon,
That ther nas no flesch ileved: bote synĕs and bar bon.
Meni men hit thoȝtĕ wel: that hit his willĕ were,
Forto bete his synne: that his soule in peril nere.
Wrecchedere gost ne miȝtĕ beo: than this seli prisoun was,
Evere he cridĕ deolfulliche: "merci, Seint Thomas!"

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Attĕ laste he let his lyf: in the strongĕ pyne,
And if hit Godĕs willĕ was: com to godĕ fyne.
This Kniȝtĕs, for this lithere dede: deidĕ sone echon,
So that in the thriddĕ ȝere: ther ne levede alyve noȝt on: 2320
For the Sauter saith that suchĕ men: that of tricherie beoth,
Ne schulleth noȝt half here dayes libbe: as we aldai iseoth.
Theȝ hi beo wel repentant: as this Kniȝtĕs were, ich wene,
ȝut ne libbeth hi noȝt half here lyf: as hit was bi hem isene.
Seint Thomas, this holi man: under urthĕ lay,
Er that he ischryned were: meni a long day.
He lai therinnĕ fourti ȝer: and half ȝer therto,
And aboute an eiȝtĕ dayes: er he were of urthe ido.
God wolde abidĕ a god tyme: to so noble thing,
Whan hi werĕ bothĕ gode: Archebischop and King.
For the Kyng that longĕ was: and evere was of lither dede, 2331
Lutĕ thoȝtĕ, bi his day: to do so godĕ dede.
Ac the King Henri the ȝungĕ sone: nolde noȝt longĕ fyne,
Tho he was ȝung King ymaked: er he were in schryne.
He nas noȝt of threttene ȝer: er he dude this noble thing,
And hit was ek in the furthe ȝer: that he was ymaked Kyng.
The gode Archebischop Stevene: radde evere faste therto,

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So that bi herě beirě red: this dedě was ido.
The Pope Hono[r]i that was tho: hedir he gan sende
Pandolf, a Legàt fram Rome: to bringe this dede to ende. 2340
The Pope ȝaf allě gret pardoun: that thider woldě gon,
That me nuste longe in Engělond: so gret pardoun non.
Therfori to honurye this holi bodi: ther com folc ynouȝ,
Of bischops and of abbotes: menion thider drouȝ;
Of priours and of persones: and of meni other clerkes also,
Of eorlěs and of barouns: and of meni knyȝtes therto;
Of serjantȝ and of squiers: and of hosebondes ynowe,
And of simple men ek of the lond: so thickě thider drowe,
That al the lond theraboute: the contrayes wide and longe,
Miȝte unethe al that folc: that ther com, afonge. 2350
So that this heȝě men: that scholde this dedě do,
Were in care hou hi miȝte: for pressě come therto;
So that the Archěbischop Stevene: of wham that ich ȝou er sede,
And the Bischop Richard of Salisbure: nomě hem to rede;
And the Priour, Water, of the hous: and the Covent also,
Wenden hem alle in priveité: this dedě forto do.
Binyȝte as the men leye and slepe: and lutě therof thoȝte,
Hi nomě up this holi bones: and in a chiste hem broȝte.

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And sette hem up in a privei stede: forte the dai were icome,
That was icrid into al that lond: that he scholde beo up ynome, 2360
This was in the month of Jul: riȝt evene the sovethe dai,
That bi a Tywĕsdai was tho: as al that folc isay.
Tho this dai was icome: to this mynstre wende anon
The Kyng Henri the ȝungĕ child: and this heȝe men echon.
Aboutĕ underne of the dai: to [this] holi bodi hi come;
Pandolf wendĕ furste therto: the Legat of Rome;
And the Archebischop of Canterbury: and of Reyns also,
That for the silvĕ thingĕ come: fram biȝundĕ see therto.
And Sire Huberd de Brom: that was the heȝe Justise,
And four grete louerdlings that were: noble men and wise, 2370
Upe here schuldren hi nome: this holi bodi anon;
And the bischops and abbotes: were ek meni on.
To the heȝ [auter] of the Trinité: this holi bones hi bere,
And leide the chiste al therwith: in a noble schrynĕ there.
This King Henri was so ȝung: that he ne therstĕ noȝt,
With othere bere this holi bones: leste me hurte him oȝt.
This was bi a Tywĕsdai: that this bonĕs up hi nome:
Al his cheänces that he hadde: by Tywĕsdai hi come.

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Bi Tywĕsdai he was ibore: and out of his moder wombe com; 2379
And also me bringeth anĕ theof: to fongen his dom,
Tofore the Kyng at Norhamptone: bi a Tuësdai:
With gretĕ schame he was ibroȝt: as al that folc isai:
Vyllokere than eni theof: that folc him ther aschende.
Bi Tuësdai he was iflemd: and out of Engelond wende.
Bi a Tuësday at Ponteney: oure Louerd to him com,
And seidĕ him that swetĕ word: of his martirdom.
"Thomas!" seide oure swetĕ Louerd: "ȝut schullen of thi blode,
"Alle mi churchen ihéred beo:" this beoth wordĕs gode.
Bi Tuësdais also god: to Engĕlond he com, 2389
After that he was iflemd: to fonge his martirdom.
Bi a Tuësdai at Canterbury: to dethe he was ido,
And siththĕ bi a Tuësdai: ischryned also.
Thuse sovĕ thinges bi Tuësdai: him come attĕ laste:
Therfore me siȝth meni men: maki herĕ faste,
To levĕ flesch thane Tuësdai: other to o mel faste,
Forte hi come to Canterbure: to honury the heȝe feste.
Nou Jesus, for the swetĕ love: that Seint Thomas on thoȝte,
Bringe ous to thulkĕ joye: that he so deore ous to bouȝte. AMEN. 2398

EXPLICIT VITA SANCTORUM.

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APPENDIX.

THE HISTORY AND MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS BEKET,

EXTRACTED FROM THE METRICAL CHRONICLE OF

ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER.

(Hearne's edition, pp. 468-478, and 517-518, corrected by the Cottonian MS. Caligula A. xi. ff. 131^{b}-135, and 145^{b}-146.)

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APPENDIX.

(Hearne, pp. 468-478, MS. ff. 131b-135.)

King Henri wondede muche: to abbe men in offis,
Mid him, that of conseil: werĕ god and wis.
Ercedekne of Kanterbury: Sein Tomas tho was:
The King him made is Chaunceler: ac* is wille it nou[ȝ]t nas.
To him the King trustĕ mest: ne ther nas non so hey,
That so muche wuste is privité: ne that him were so ney.
So muche he truste on him: that in is warde he let do
Henri is eldoste sone: and is eir al so,
That he were his wardein: and al is ordeinour,
To is wille to wissi him: and to the Kinges honour. 10
The King wende to Normandie: to sojorni there,
And mid Sein Tomas dude is sone: that he is wardein were.
Tho Tebaud the Erchebissop: suththĕ ded was,
The King and monekes ek: chosĕ Seint Tomas.
Tho he was Erchebissop: he huld ȝut in is hond
That child, vort that the King: come in to Engĕlond.

* MS. *at.*

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The child lovede him inou: more nas nevere iseye,
Ne he nadde of no man: morĕ love ne eye.
Tho the King to londĕ com: Sein Tomas nom is sone,
And wel vawe aȝen him: wende to Southhamtone. 20
Ther was joye and blisse inou: tho hii togadere come;
Hii custe hom and biclupte: and herede God ilome.
It was enlevĕ hundred ȝer: and sixti and tuo,
Of grace, that Sein Tomas: was Erchebissop tho.
The nexte ȝer ther after: (as it woldĕ be,)
Endlevĕ hundred ȝer of grace: and sixti and thre,
He halwede, as the King him bed: the churche of Redinge,
That verst ifounded was: thoru Henri the other Kinge.
He ssrinede thulkĕ sulvĕ ȝer: Seint Edward, iwis,
That was King of Engĕlond: at Westmunstre that is. 30
The King ȝef thulkĕ sulvĕ ȝer: Henri is sone, Aungeo,
Tours, and al Normandie: and Richard is sone, al so,
He ȝef Gascoine and Aquitaine: so that hii dude homage
King Lowis of France: thervore, withoute outrage.
Geffray is sone he made Erl: of Brutaine al so.
The wule is children ȝongĕ were: al this was ido.
No man ne miȝtĕ thenche: the lovĕ that ther was,
Bituene the King Henri: and the gode man Seint Tomas.
The Devel adde envie ther to: and sed bituene hom seu:
Alas! alas! thulke stounde: vor al to wel it greu! 40
Vor ther adde er ibé: Kinges of luther dede,
As Willam Bastard and is sone: Willam the Rede;
That luther lawĕs made ynou: and helde in to al the lond.

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The King nolde nouȝt bileve: the lawĕs that he fond,
Ne that is elderne hulde: ne the godeman Sein Tomas,
Thouȝte that thing aȝé riȝte: nevere lawĕ nas,
Ne sothnesse, ac costume: mid strengthe up iholde;
And he wuste that ur Louerd: in the gospel tolde,
That he him sulf was sothnesse: and costumĕ nou[ȝ]t:
Ther vore luther costumes: he noldĕ graunti nouȝt. 50
Ne the King nolde bileve: that is elderne adde iholde;
So that contek sprong: bituene hom, mani volde.
The King drou to riȝtĕ lawe: mani luther costome:
Sein Tomas hom withsede: and grantédĕ some.
The lawĕs that icholle nou telle: he grauntedĕ vawe:—
ȝuf a thuman hath a sone: to clergie idrawe,
He ne ssal, withoute is louerdes [wille:*] icrouned nouȝt be:
Vor thuman ne may nouȝt be imad: aȝen is louerdes wille fre.
Another thing he grauntede ek: as ȝe mowe nou isé:
ȝuf a man of holichirche: halt eni lay fe, 60
Person other wat he be: he ssal do thervore
Kinges servise that ther valth†: that is riȝte ne be vorlore;
In playdinge and in asise be: and in jugĕment also,
Bote war man ssal be bilemed: other to dethe ido.
He grantede ek, ȝuf eni man: the kingĕs traytour were,
And eni man of is chateus: to holi churchĕ bere,
That holi churche ne ssoldĕ nouȝt: the chateus therĕ lette,

* Evidently omitted in this line, though expressed in the next.
† Hearne has *valp*.

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That the king there, other is: as is owene, is ne vette:
Vor al that the felon hath: the kingĕs it is,
And ech man mai, in holi churche: is owene take, ywis.70
He grantede ek, that a churche: of the kingĕs fe,
In none stede eve* and evere: ne ssolde iȝivĕ be,
As to hous of religion: withoute the kingĕs leve;
And that he, other the patron: the ȝifte verst ȝeve.
Seint Tomas grantede wel: thes and other mo:
Ac this othere he withsede: that dude him wel wo:—
ȝuf bituene tueie lewede men: were eni striving,
Other bituene a lewede and a clerc: vor holichurchĕ thing,
As vor vowĕson of churche: wether ssolde the churchĕ ȝive,
The king wolde that in is court: the ple ssolde be drive, 80
Vor as muche as a lewed man: that the o partie was,
Clanliche was under the king: and under no bissop nas.
Another was, that no bissop: ne clerc nathĕmo,
Ne ssolde withoute [the] kingĕs leve: out of this lond go;
And thannĕ hii ssolde suerie: upe the bok, ywis,
That hii ne ssolde purchasy non uvel: the king, ne non of his.
The thridde was, ȝuf eni man: in mansinge were ibrouȝt,
And suththĕ come to amendement: ne aȝé riȝte nere noȝt,
That he ne suore nouȝt upe the boc: ac borewes findĕ solde,
To stonde to that holichirche: ther of him loky wolde. 90

* Hearne has *ene*: perhaps it ought to read *evere* in both places.

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The verthe was, that no man: that of the kinge hulde ouȝt,
In chef, other in eni servise: in mansinge were ibroȝt,
Bote the wardeins of holichirche: that broȝtĕ him therto,
The king sede, other is bailifs: wat he adde misdo;
And lokede verst wer hii wolde: to amendĕment it bringe,
And bote hii wolde be hor leve: do the mansinge.
The vifte was, that bissopriches: and abbeies also,
That vacauns were of prelas: in the kinges hond were ido;
And that the king ssolde al the lond: as is owĕ take,
Vort attĕ lastĕ that him luste: eni prelat ther make, 100
And thannĕ thulkĕ prelat ssolde: in is chapele ichosĕ be,
Of is clerkes, wuche he wolde: to such prelat bi se;
And thannĕ wan he were ichose: in is chapele riȝt there,
Homage he ssolde him do: ar he confermed were.
The sixtĕ was, ȝuf eni play: to chapitle were idrawe,
And eni man made is apèl: ȝuf me dude him unlawe,
That to the bissop fram ercedekne: is apèl ssoldĕ make,
And fram bissop to erchĕbissop: and suththe non herrĕ take;
And bote the erchĕbissopes court: to riȝte him woldĕ bringe,
That he ssolde fram him: biclupe bivore the kinge; 110
And fram the king non herre mo: so that, atten ende,
Plaininge* of holichirche: to the king soldĕ wende,

* So in the MS., but differently in v. 115.

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And the king amendi ssolde: the erchĕbissopes dede,
And be as in the popĕs stude: ac Sein Tomas it with sede.
The sevethe was, that plaidinge: that of dettĕ were,
To ȝelde wel thoru treuthe iplizt: and nozt iholdĕ nere;
Al thei thoru treuthe it were: that ple ssolde be ibrozt,
Bivore the king and is bailifs: and to holi churchĕ nozt.
The eiztethe was, that in the londe: citacion non nere,
Thoru bullĕ of the pope of Rome: ac clene bileved were.
The nithe was, that Petres panes: that me gadereth manion, 121
The popĕ nere nouzt on isend: ac the king echon.
The tethĕ was, ȝuf eni clerc: as felon were itake,
And vor felon iproved: and ne mizte it nozt vorsake;
That me ssolde him verst desordeini: and suththe thoru pur lawe,
And thoru jugement of the lond: honge him, other to drawe.
Vor thes, and vor other mo: the godemon, Seint Tomas,
Fleu verst out of Engĕlond: and suththe ymartred was.
Vor he sei ther nas bote o wey: other he moste stif be,
Other holichurchĕ was issent: that mid rizte was so fre. 130
Endlevĕ hundred ȝer of grace: and foure and sixti therto,
It was, that Sein Tomas: of londe wendĕ so.
The nexte ȝer ther after: the Amperessĕ Mold
Wende out of this live: as the boc ath itold.
The King let crouni to Kinge: an vif ȝer after this,
Henri is eldoste sone: at Westmunstre, ywis,
As endlevĕ hundred ȝer of grace: and sixti and tene;

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And sixtene ȝer he was old: tho he was icrouned, ich wene.
The Erchebissop of Everwik: and the Bissop of Londone,
And of Salesbury, him crounede: aȝen riȝt and wone. 140
Vor the Erchebissop of Canterburi: mid riȝte it ssoldĕ do.
Tho Sein Tomas it wuste: gret deol he nom him to.
That the churche of Kanterbury: in such unriȝt was ibroȝt,
He noldĕ, vor to tholie deth: leng tholie it noȝt.
He drou him towarde Engĕlond: to is martirdom:
As Godĕs kniȝt, he bigan: tho he hider com.
He amansede allĕ thulke: that such unriȝt adde ido,
To the churche of Canterbury: and the King icrouned so.
The thre bissopes worthĕ* were: and nome hom to rede,
And wendĕ vorth to Normandie: and the olde King it sede. 150
The King was nei, vor wraththĕ, wod: and sedĕ, "ȝuf that he
"Amanseth allĕ thulkĕ men: thanne amanseth he me."
He acorsede allĕ thulkĕ men: that he hadde vorth ibrouȝt,
That of an falsĕ preste: ne abbĕ eke him nouȝt.†
That word he sedĕ ofte: in hastinesse, ywis:
Foure of the Develes limes: is Kniȝtĕs, hurdĕ this;
Sire Reinaud Le Fizours: Sire Roger Brut al so,
Sire Hue de Morvile: Sir Willam Traci ther to;

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* So, for *wrothe.*

† That had not avenged him of a false priest. See Life, v. 1946.

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Hü nomĕ hom to rede: and vor to paye is wille,
Wendĕ vorth to Engĕlond: hastĕliche and stille. 160
Tho the King com to is mete: and is Kniȝtĕs mid him were,
He bihuld and miste: thulkĕ fourĕ there.
Is herte him ȝef anon: wuderward hii wende:
In anguisse and sor ynou: after hom he sende,
Toward the se, hasteliche: that hii come aȝé.
Ar the messager come: hii were in the se.
Hii wende hom vorth to Kanterburi: and in the churchĕ riȝt,
Hii martreden Sein Tomas: an Tiwesday at niȝt.
This godeman sat adoun akne: and is heved buyede adoun,
And wel softe, as some hurde: sede this orison:— 170
"God and Seintĕ Marie: and Sein Denis al so,
"And alle the avowĕs of this churche: in was ore ich am ido,*
"Ich bitake min soule: and holi churchĕ riȝte!"
ȝut he bed vor holi churche: tho he nadde other miȝte.
Sir Reinaud Le Fizours: mest ssrewe of echon,
Vor to smite this holi man: is suerd drou anon.
Ac Edward Grim, that was is clerc: of Grantĕbrugge ibore,
To helpe is louerd, ȝuf he miȝte: pulte is arm bivore.
He wounde his arm suithĕ sore: thut blod orn adoun:
Mid thulkĕ dunt ek he smot: Sein Tomas upe the croun, 180

* And all the patron-saints of this church, in whose favor I am placed.—Hearne reads *abowes*.

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That thut blod orn bi is face: in the riȝt half of the wounde.
Loudĕ gradde the luther Kniȝt: "Smiteth alle to grounde!"
In thulkĕ sulvĕ wounde: an other him smot tho,
That he abuyde is face adoun: vort ther comĕ mo.
The thridde in thulkĕ sulvĕ stede: ther after smot anon,
And made him aloute al adoun: is face vpe on the ston.
In thulkĕ stede the verthĕ smot: that the othere adde er ydo;
And the point of is suerd brec: in the marbreston a tuo.
ȝut thulkĕ point at Canterbury: the monekes lateth wite,
Vor honour of the holi man: that therwith was ismite.
With thulkĕ stroc he smot al of: the scolle and ek the croune, 191
That the brain orn al abrod: in the paviment ther doune.
Tho this holiman imartred was: the Kniȝtĕs gradde echon,
"This traitor is to dethe ibroȝt: wende we henne anon.
"Syweth us* the Kingĕs men: and alle that mid him beth.
"Of this traitor we beth awreke: as ȝe nou iseth.

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* In the MS. *nou* was the original reading, corrected into *vs*, which Hearne misprinted *vi*.

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"He thouȝte be herrĕ than the King: and binime him is croune,
"And to nouȝte bringe al Engĕlond: and nou he lith ther doune!"
In endlevĕ hundred ȝer of grace: this godeman, Sein Tomas,
And sixti and endlevene: thus imartred was. 200
Tho the King it wuste: he madĕ deol ynou,
So that vor anguisse: nei him sulve he slou.
In the castel of Argentein: vourty dawes he was,
In a chaumbre al one: withoute eni solas.
In wop and sorwe and deol inou: and confort non him nas,
Ac evere on the holiman: criede, Sein Tomas.
So that tueie Cardinals: the Pope him sende, iwis;
And hii him asoilede: of that was ido amis.
And he undude the luther lawes: and grauntede alle the gode,
That Sein Tomas esste: as hii understode. 210
Of forest and of other thing: that is elderne nome amis,
He undude, and ther to: is chartre made, iwis.
Ac after is daye iholde: febliche it was,
Of King Jon, and of othere: and natheles ther nas,
Non of hom, that somĕ time: (mid wille thei it nere,)
Ne grauntede and confermede it: thei it lute wurth were:
Vor mani is the godĕ bodi: that aslawe is thervore.
To betere ende God it bringe: that vor us was ibore!*

* Here ends the portion of the metrical text, omitted in the Heralds' MS.

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After Sein Tomas dethe: aboute an ȝerĕs to,
Ther sprong contek suithĕ strong: (thei it luther were ido,) 220
Bituene King Henri the olde: and the ȝonge, mid wou:
Vor the sone aros aȝé the fader: and dude him ssame ynou,
Thoru the King of France: was doȝter was is wif;
Vor thoru a vowe of him: the sone bigan that strif.
Vor the King of Fraunce: and the Erl of Flaundres ther to,
And Sir Roberd Erl of Leicestre: and Sire Hue Bigod also,
And the King of Scotlond ek: and manie other kniȝt,
With the sone aȝé [the] fader: huldĕ with unriȝt.
Hii destruede and robbede: the fader londes, mid wou:
The father was in Normandie: and deöl made ynou.
He huld it al wreche of God: vor Sein Tomas martirdom, 231
And nathĕles with gret poër: to Engĕlond he com.*
The Erl Willam of Gloucestere: huld mid him vaste,
And mani other trewĕ kniȝt: so that attĕ laste,†
(Ac the olde King at Canterbury: mid gode herte and wille,

* This line is omitted in Hearne's copy, but supplied in his notes from the Heralds' MS. with a slight transposition of the words. It exists, however, in the Cottonian text, as above.

† This clause, in all propability, is erroneous, and left so by the author; for though the next four lines, (which are here printed within parentheses, as by Hearne,) are needful to complete the narrative, they are omitted in the Heralds' MS., and v. 239 is construed with this verse, in the stead of v. 238.

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Hurde is masse of Sein Tomas: and cride him merci, stille.
Is ost, and is sonĕ ost: the wulĕ masse ilaste,
Smite an stronge bataile: so that attĕ laste,)
Thoru grace of Sein Tomas: is men overcome
Hor fon, and the King: of Scotlondĕ nome.
And Sir Hue Bigod ek: and the Erl of Leicetre, 240
Inome was thoru Willam: Erl of Gloucestre.
Manion ther was aslawe: so that this vair cas,
The King it thonkede everidel: the godeman Sein Tomas.
So that the fader and the sone: acorded werĕ tho,
Ac the sonĕs herte aȝé the fader: was ever mo;
And the bretheren hulde al so: aȝen hor fader vaste,
Vorte the ȝonge King Henri: deidĕ attĕ laste.
A Sein Barnabĕs day: and (as it woldĕ be)
Endlevĕ hundred ȝer of grace: and eiȝteti and thre; 250
In Normandye he deyde: and thulkĕ ȝer al so,
Seint Egwine at Evesham: in ssrine was verst ido:
Glastingburi was ther after: and to ȝer, ibroȝt to grounde,
Vorbarnd, and of King Arthure: the bonĕs verst ifounde.

(Ibid. pp. 517-518, ff. 145b-146.)

Ther after at Westmunstre: ar the Baronie bi sai,*
Hii crounede the King ariȝt: a Witesonĕday.†

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* Hearne *vi sai.*

† This coronation of King Henry III. took place on the 17th

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It was as in the ȝer of grace: a* tuelf hundred and tuenti ȝer,
And as in the verthĕ ȝer: that he verst crounĕ ber.
The newĕ worc of Westm[unstre]: the King bigan tho anon,
After is crouninge: and leide the verstĕ ston. 260
The King wende tho to Canterbury: and the heiemen also.
To nime† up Sein Tomas body: and in to ssrinĕ do:
Arst he adde ileye an erthe: unssrined vifti ȝer.
Of Engĕlond and of France: so muche folc ther com ther,
That alle contreye aboute: unnethe avonge it miȝte;
Ther vore hii nome him up: privĕliche bi niȝte.

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of May, 1220, and the inshrining of Beket on the 7th of July following; which latter day is marked in calendars prior to the Reformation thus:—*Translatio sancti Thomæ Martyris*, to distinguish it from the day of his death, the 29th of December, where the first of these words is omitted.

* So Hearne: the MS. has "&."

† So the MS., but Hearne reads *mine*. Cf. Life, vv. 2358, 2360, 2377.

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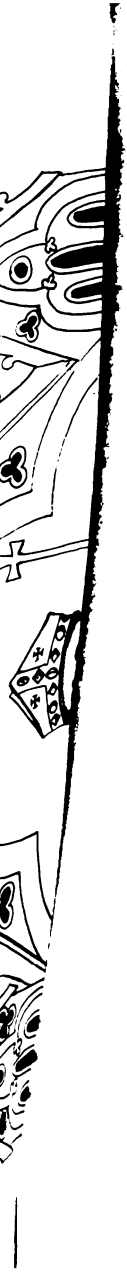

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